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SEPTEMBER · OCTOBER, 1947

SOCIAL ORDER

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An ISO Forum

For Private Circulation

SOCIAL ORDER

(formerly ISO Bulletin)

Vol. I

SEPTEMBER - OCTOBER, 1947

No. 3

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Concerning the Changes Within the Institute of Social Order — Summer, 1947

DURING THEIR LAST ANNUAL MEETING, the Fathers Provincial of the American Assistancy appointed a committee to study and report with recommendations the present status of the ISO. The members of this committee were Father Leo C. Brown, chairman, of the Missouri Province; Father Philip S. Land of the Oregon Province; and Father John F. X. Sweeney of the New York Province. This committee reported to the Very Reverend Fathers Provincial early in July. At a subsequent meeting in New York the Fathers Provincial decided to take the following steps:

Institute of Social Sciences

The functions of the Institute of Social Sciences henceforth will include not only the training of students but also the fostering of research in the social sciences. It is proposed to prepare for the faculty of this Institute several qualified men as quickly as possible until a total of approximately ten shall have been reached. Genuine effort will be made to promote solid research in the basic social problems of the day as well as to train young Jesuits in the social sciences.

Office of Social Activities

The Office of Social Activities is to be discontinued for an indefinite period.

ISO Publications

Social Order (formerly ISO Bulletin) will continue to be published for private circulation and will be edited by Father Francis Corley. Decision about the publication of individual mimeographed bulletins will be made shortly. However, effort will be made to confine publications of the national ISO to SOCIAL ORDER itself. The present issue of SOCIAL ORDER is a combined September-October number. The next will be a November-December number and will feature up-to-date accounts of European developments as observed by three ISO Jesuits who are on the scene this summer: Fathers Robert Graham, John Thomas, Francis Corley.

The National Convention

Because of the nature of these changes and of the late date at which they have been made, no national convention will be held in 1947.

The National Organization of the ISO

The central organization of the ISO at the present time consists of the ISS-research group. Father Leo C. Brown is the Director.

The Province organizations of the ISO retain their present structure and will be developed along the lines best suited to each Province.

THE TEXT OF THE 29th DECREE

of the XXIX General Congregation

A free translation by Joseph F. Cantillon, S.J.

I. Today in many nations there is an almost complete revolution and upheaval not only of the Christian constitution of society but even of those very foundations on which any social order rests. All of Ours in accordance with their love and devotion to Christ the King and to His bride, the Church, should be persuaded to spare neither labor nor effort in order that the social order may be brought back to those principles laid down by the recent Pontiffs.

II. Accordingly over and above the prescriptions of the 29th Decree of the 28th Congregation this general congregation decrees that as soon as possible in every province, or at least in every region, there be set up a center of social action and of social study. This center should have skillful men and satisfactory tools to carry on the clarification and propaganda necessary for all types of social work. The center should be prepared to give direction and drive to the social apostolate of all of Ours. Over and above this in all those cities where there are great numbers of workmen let the provincials appoint one or more priests dedicated according to their abilities to this special field.

III. METHODOLOGY

(a) Methods are twofold: those aimed at training leaders and apostles from the ranks of the workingmen and the farmers in order that, having once obtained correct ideas of social justice, they may lead others.

(b) A second method aims at the return of the entire proletariat to Christ and to the Church. In either case the men devoted to this work may start all sorts of enterprises and techniques according to the various states of men and local circumstances, provided only that everything takes place with the knowledge and consent of the provincial. Moreover in matters of greater moment where precedent is unavailable, a previous approbation from Father General should be obtained. This assembly especially honors those of Ours who labor among workingmen in missions of greater self-denial.

IV. Furthermore let all the priests of the Society understand that in all spiritual ministries (sermons, retreats, education, Sodalities, other groups) they both can and ought to exercise a social apostolate in three ways:

- (1) By instructing the minds and hearts of the faithful toward social justice and charity.
- (2) By explaining the social doctrine of the Church.
- (3) Finally by carrying out social projects through the members of any society or association under Our direction.

V. All our scholastics according to the decree cited above (29 of the 28th) should be properly instructed in social thinking early in life. Those scholastics more suitable to the social apostolate should be specially selected in order that, after having laid the solid foundation of our basic studies, they may be able to take special courses and degrees both in the theory and in the practice of the social apostolate.

VI. Finally let all of Ours keep in mind that the efficacy of this social apostolate depends in great part on the self-denial and austerity of the lives of the men involved.

WAR'S AFTERMATH

Communism in Our Day

by John B. Janssens, S.J.*

General of the Society of Jesus

THE RECENT WAR in Europe and Asia, and the consequent want and poverty that followed in its wake, have prepared a fertile field for innovators of new doctrines and have lent a helping hand to the spread of social unrest.

We see on the one hand a multitude of the common people hearkening to new doctrines as though they were the word of God promising them a better living here on earth. On the other hand many who profess to be followers of Christ seem intimidated by a fatalistic spirit. They either close their eyes to the impending danger and surrender to it without a struggle or gird themselves for inevitable martyrdom.

But of even graver concern, young people have recently been allured in many parts of the world by the wiles of communism. Since it is evident that the present social order abounds with injustice and wrongdoing, and since those who are on the "right" side seem

to be either unable or unwilling to play their part in the combat, they lend a ready ear to the "isms" of the present day. Then deluded by the hope that communism can be destroyed by atheism and materialism, they imagine that Christianity could at least tolerate it on a social basis. Thus without giving up their faith they try to compromise with communism on social lines.

Throughout the world the Society publishes magazines which are read by the laboring classes. It is especially to those periodicals that have a stronger influence that number three of the 29th decree of the XXIX Congregation was directed. The Society also publishes many pamphlets which are widely scattered among the common people. While these may have been started with other purposes in mind, at the present time they can well be directed to the present problem.

I should like to have the Fathers Provincial consult with the moderators of our various periodicals and see how they can best attain the goal which was set by the XXVIII General Congregation. In addition to those things which may occur to other individuals—and which perhaps may be more suitable—I am offering the following suggestions:

* This is the letter of April 22, 1947, to the Fathers Provincial of the Society of Jesus. In the opening paragraph Father General indicates that the statements which were made in Nos. 11 and 12 of the 29th decree of the XXVIII General Congregation are even more applicable today than when they were first issued nine years ago. Adaptations of the text have been made by the Acting Editor.

1. Just as socialism developed in the past, so now communism has sprung up with vigorous life, because the living conditions of the poorer classes have been unbearable. On all sides there faces us the threat of revolution. It is necessary that our writers (whether it pleases or displeases the wealthy class) depict, without animosity but with sincerity, for the average reader the conditions as they actually exist in our larger cities and industrial centers and even in some of our rural areas. Nor should each one consider the conditions merely in his own country or in that locality where he happens to live. Let him look especially to Southern Asia and the Orient where social problems of unbelievable magnitude are gradually developing conditions which Christian charity cannot tolerate.

2. People have to be shown how the doctrine of Christ, and it alone, gives perfect happiness here and hereafter. Unless the present social order is rebuilt on the foundation of the Gospel as Christ intended it—"so that in place of lying, greed, egotism, strife, etc., there is established a just government based on love and harmony toward all men" (Cf. Preface of the Mass of Christ the King)—neither a change of government nor peace parleys nor treaties, and surely not wars, can accomplish anything. The recent Sovereign Pontiffs in their encyclicals and by their own public acts have shown how the teachings of Christ have a timely application in our own era. Unfortunately one has to admit that the social doctrine of the Church is entirely unknown by many people, and this is true not only of some of the laity but even in the case of some priests. The result is irreparable harm for present and future Christians.

3. It does not suffice that Catholics know the teaching of the Church; they must also live those truths in their private and public lives. For unless

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we are fully convinced and carry out those truths handed down by Christ are we not like those wealthy people of whom St. James says: "And if a brother or sister be naked and want daily food; and one of you say to them: Go in peace, be ye warmed and filled; yet give them not those things that are necessary for the body, what shall it profit?" (James 2, 16). This would be a faith which is dead and without any action. What good will result if we expound the marvelous doctrine of the Church to the common people unless we Catholics live that doctrine and are content with our lot in life?

We have it within our power to instruct the leaders who read our publications that they have an obligation in conscience to establish a social order based on justice and Christian charity one that is not seeking the good of only a few but strives for the common good of all.

I am speaking here explicitly of our publications. I am not emphasizing the other phases of the apostolate which the XXVIII and XXIX General Congregations stressed — especially the last Congregation in number three of the 29th decree. From time to time the Fathers Provincial should exhort their subjects to indoctrinate a "social sense" among their listeners both in the classroom and during retreats. People who know what they are talking about complain that young men and women, graduates of Catholic schools, *do not possess* the fundamentals of Christian charity.

4. It is evident that we shall never be able to convince the self-sufficient man, who is always seeking his own interests at the expense of others, that he does not possess the means of uprooting communism. We must be careful not to go beyond the bounds of Christian moderation lest we go too far and compromise with those with

whom we are contending. Rather we ought to preach the entire Catholic doctrine without any human respect even in our dealings with influential and wealthy people.

5. Frequently there is need for an explanation of the essential distinction between the doctrine of communism and the doctrine of the Catholic Church lest some be unwittingly drawn away from the Catholic teaching. The two have an entirely different concept of God, the world, man and his origin. There is consequently a different interpretation of history both past and present. The distinction comes up again in determining the destiny and value of human life, in evaluating economic, social, political and international affairs. In short, it reaches into all of the ramifications of public and private life. With regard to the supreme authority of God, the creation of the universe, the dignity of man, the fall, the Incarnation, Redemption, the Church, etc. — where will the doctrine of communism fit them? And how can a Catholic man subscribe to a doctrine which is based on norms which exalt self and expediency rather than goodness and morality?

6. If at first glance Catholicism and communism seem to have some points in common, that similarity soon vanishes when put to the acid test. Here we have a good example of that basic rule of logic: "From truth only truth can come, but from falsity anything may follow." Communism in no way subscribes to the Sermon on the Mount, nor does it profess belief in a divine law-giver, or redeemer, or eternal rewards consequent on an earthly life.

7. Furthermore, communism is not a mere abstract doctrine. It is a living, pulsating reality. And it is of prime importance that our Catholics recognize it in all its reality. This seems to be one of the more difficult

and more urgent of our tasks today. More urgent, I say, for the immediate aim of the communists is not just the implantation of their doctrine. They seek control of political offices so that by well-laid schemes they might forestall any counter measures coming from their adversaries, especially Catholics.

Very credulous indeed are those who lend a ready ear to the propaganda of the communists and who take as gospel truth whatever they say. Their efforts lack sincerity. They are to be evaluated not by their promises but by their deeds.

8. Hence our writers ought to concentrate their efforts on a sincere rebuttal of the *activities* of communism. Extreme care should be taken however lest they be carried away by false representations. Here there is need of a careful logical approach so that the points at issue may be clearly brought out into the open.

To do this calls for a ready knowledge of the subject. It is regrettable that we have so few men who have a speaking knowledge of the Russian language. Not only is this true among those engaged in the oriental missions but the same may be said regarding those in the fields of economics, sociology and similar branches. The 'Iron Curtain' separates us from the Slavic nations not merely because of political intrigue but also because of the fact that we do not have a knowledge of their language. Abundant information can be gathered from their daily newspapers, magazines, books and radio broadcasts by anyone who knows the language. If the province does not have men conversant with this language, then the members should get their information from reliable sources. Private correspondence among members of various provinces will help to this end. At province and inter-provincial meetings a profitable exchange of ideas can take place.

Concrete illustrations ought to be used to illustrate the methods used by the communists so that Catholics and others who might easily be deceived may be put on their guard. You are aware that the communists, under the guise of an apparently harmless social or economic movement, infiltrate into Catholic groups and become deeply rooted. At times they even attempt to win over the clergy. Their present goal seems to be to solicit recruits from amongst well-trained and skilled craftsmen.

9. Everything that I have suggested regarding our publications for the educated is equally applicable to all of our other publications. Our pamphlets which are designed to inculcate religious piety should for the present omit things of lesser moment and concentrate on the spirit of the Gospel and the Catholic Faith which is the love of God and our fellow man, forgetful of self. This is the source whence the devotion to the Sacred Heart had its origin and it can be the basis of our present campaign. Those who cite examples from Church history would do well to capitalize on the persecutions which both openly and covertly are being suffered by the Church today at the hands of the communists. For the communists fear nothing more than that their deeds be brought out into the open for public view.

Likewise our mission magazines might cite living examples from amongst the missionaries working in the Orient as to what the attitude of the communists is with regard to religion.

10. The dignity and charity which befits a Christian should pervade all these efforts which we put forth. Let no one be vitriolic nor deride any individual nor humiliate anyone except insofar as is necessary to establish the truth of actual happenings. And under

no circumstances should we meddle in politics. (*Epit. Inst.* n. 700, No. 2).

As I have already mentioned, many, especially in some places, are beset with serious problems, even intimidated, and as a result lose courage and finally give up entirely. On the face of it, it is evident that such a spirit will prove disastrous to the Catholic cause. Let us not dispose ourselves in such a way that the words of Christ be applied to us "O, ye of little faith, why have you doubted?" Our enemy, as St. Ignatius says in the rules for the discernment of spirits, becomes stronger in the face of our temerity. His ideology however can be eclipsed by the bright light of Catholic doctrine. We are fully aware (and so are they) that the mission of the communists is gradually weakening as time goes on, and daily it becomes more evident that their schemes are availing nothing in the face of indomitable Christian faith. The idol which King Nebuchodonosor saw in a dream (Dan. 2, 31-35), built of massive iron to terrify men, rested upon feet of clay. These, by slow degrees, truth will inevitably undermine. Our adversaries "have set their mouth against heaven and their tongue hath passed through the earth." (Ps. 72, 9.) But "as the dream of them that awake, O Lord, so in Thy city Thou shalt bring their image to nothing." (Ps. 72, 20.)

It is most likely that our aggressiveness in proclaiming truth and refuting error will call upon us the wrath and hatred of our opponents. Indeed, we ought to avoid anything that would arouse animosity toward the Catholic Church. However, if we suffer persecution for justice's sake blessed are we, as we remember from the words of our Lord.

COMMENTARY ON THE 29th DECREE

of the XXIX General Congregation

by Wilfrid Parsons, S.J.*

FOUR SESSIONS of the 1946 General Congregation—31, 32, 33 and 38—dealt with the social apostolate of the Society. Out of these sessions came the congregation's 29th Decree, about which it seems allowable and pertinent to write a short commentary.

As is clear from the decree itself, the congregation was fully aware that the XXVIII Congregation had dealt exhaustively with the same subject, and it was legitimate to doubt if this congregation should add anything to what was also—by a coincidence—its 29th Decree. The decree of the XXIX Congregation sets forth the principles on which our social action should rest and merely adds what might seem the immediate practical means to put those principles into effect.

The decree has five parts. The first enjoins that each province or region set a center of social action. The second discusses the various methods which may be adopted by these centers. The third enjoins that our several channels of spiritual ministry be animated by the social doctrine of the Church. The fourth commands that all our scholastics be acquainted with this social doctrine and that some be set aside for special preparation in forwarding it. The fifth reminds us that our apostolate in this field will be

fruitful solely in the measure in which we spend ourselves individually.

There are certain preliminary observations to be made.

The first is of course that the letter of Very Reverend Father General, of April 22, 1947, directed especially to our writers and editors, has given the very best commentary on the decree. The decree must be read in the light of this letter, for its whole tone is that a positive social doctrine and action are the only way by which we can head off communism. In this his Paternity was entirely in accord with the spirit of the congregation.

The second observation to be made is that the congregation looked on this whole matter as an apostolate—operating in the temporal order of the state certainly, but with the conviction that the temporal happiness of man is intimately connected with his eternal salvation. It must be remembered that St. Thomas said (in the felicitous translation of Father Vincent McNabb): "A certain amount of comfort is necessary to the practice of virtue." Or as Father Tranchese once wrote me from San Antonio: "I cannot save these Mexicans' souls as long as they are living in these slums."

The center of social action which each province or region must set up is a center of both study and action. It must be given experts and money.

* Editor's note: Father Parsons was a member of the General Congregation and assisted in drawing up the decree.

It must be adequate to two principal jobs: It must explain and propagate the social task which lies on us, and it must give both push and direction to the social action of Ours, which it is assumed will be enthusiastic and unrelenting. And in addition to this in larger industrial centers there should be workers' chaplains after the model of the prewar Holland practice — naturally in this case with the approval of the local ordinary, but Ours are not forbidden to ask permission.

Postwar Scene

The second paragraph is a rather complicated one and cannot be understood without a knowledge of the European postwar scene. During the war from France to Poland, Ours in considerable numbers put on workers' clothes and were carried away by the nazis to slave-labor camps. The heroic Father Victor Dillard whom many Americans know from his visit here and who was tortured and murdered by the SS when he was discovered, will remain the patron saint of these extraordinary men.

After the war it was still asked whether the example of these men should not be followed in peace also. As a result not a few French, Polish, and Dutch Jesuits and secular priests went into the factories as ordinary workers. (See the article "Mission de Paris" in SOCIAL ORDER, May 1947.)

When I was in Paris last November, I was assured that more and more of the priests who had gone to work in the factories in France were again "putting on the soutane," since they had concluded that their apostolate could be better carried on in the distinctive garb and by the regular pastoral work of a priest. The French Bishops had earlier thrown cold water on the experiment. However the experiment still goes on elsewhere: in

Holland voluntarily, in Poland by necessity, especially in Eastern Poland, where a disguise is often necessary.

Brand New "Humanities"

The second paragraph of the decree must be read in the light of these facts. The purpose of our apostolate is twofold: to train an elite of leaders from the factories and the field by giving them correct notions of social questions and imparting to them a new brand of the "humanities"* suitable to their station; to tackle the big over-all problem of the redemption of the proletariat.

As for specific ways to do this, the congregation finally agreed to leave the choice of the superiors who are on the spot. Not every suggested method could be legislated for the whole Society; this would be done if it were included in the decree. Moreover conditions vary widely across the world.

However in the case of new and untried ways (priests working in factories) the previous approval of Father General must be obtained. In general it may be said that the congregation was of the mind that the closer the way of living of the social apostle resembles that of the worker himself, the more chance he will have to achieve success. Hence the congregation gave special praise to those who may be called to adopt this arduous regime.

(turn to page 138)

* The words *ad humanitatem quandam suo statui accommodatam* need perhaps some further elucidation, since they may sound strange to American ears. The implication is of course that the Society is by its age-old tradition committed to an education by the humanities but that this does not necessarily mean the Greek-and-Latin humanities. For the worker there is also a humanities which contains the same high cultural value, which must be retained, but which will be couched for them in our workers-education program in appropriate terms.

SOCIAL CHALLENGE TO EDUCATION

Most Americans Lack Social Consciousness

by Louis J. Twomey, S.J.

Loyola University, New Orleans

THE TIME HAS PASSED when we can indulge in the dubious luxury of rejecting without qualification systematized effort to insure a reasonable sharing by all citizens in the almost unlimited resources of this country. This sharing can be achieved by means of extending to our economic system the theories and practices which have worked with such noteworthy success in our political system. It is to be feared that unless we can supplement our self-government in the political field with self-government in the economic field, we may lose both in the rising tide of Collectivism. The problem, then, of achieving economic democracy is a serious challenge to the American people.

The Papal program of Vocational Organization, as outlined in the *Quadragesimo Anno*, when adjusted to American requirements will make possible an economic democracy in which the principles of social justice and social charity can operate as the directive forces to guide the activity of all elements of our population toward the common good of society. But this adjustment cannot be made until the mentality of the people has been prepared for radical changes in their social concepts.

The instrument of this preparation is a system of education in which students will be trained to know social values and the means to make these values operative in their own lives. With few exceptions, such perhaps as mathematics and the physical sciences, there is no course in the curriculum

from the lowest grades through graduate and professional schools, that cannot be made to serve the purpose of social indoctrination. This end is to be gained not by weakening the contents of the course, but by focusing the student's mind on the method whereby he can use the factual and cultural knowledge acquired from the course better to equip himself to make his proportionate contribution to the society of men in which he lives. Thus will be built up social attitudes to make the student aware that God did not create him to be an isolated individual, but a member of society from which, as a member, he is to receive certain benefits and towards which he has certain obligations.

The educational system as presently constituted does not achieve the purpose of social indoctrination. On this score it is to be criticised not because it is anti-social, but rather because for the most part it is purely negative in its approach to social problems, permitting the student to formulate his own social philosophy as best he may. By default rather than of set purpose, educators have failed to recognize that schooling in social concepts and stimulation through social motivation are vital components of a full-rounded education. If education is the process of preparing students for life, that system which neglects to prepare students for intelligent action and interaction with their fellowmen, can hardly be called adequate. If, then, social mindedness is to be attained by a significant number of our people, the present

educational system must be adjusted to include positive social training as an integral part of the curriculum.

Not until at least a large part of the American people are indoctrinated with clear ideas as to what constitutes a just socio-economic order will there be any solid hope of establishing democratic processes in our economy. The first step towards this necessary goal, therefore, must be one of education, not so much as regards factual information, but as regards the development of a social mentality.

Where Education Fails

Our American educational system has notably failed in developing social consciousness among its students. With increasing emphasis being placed on the utilitarian aspects of education, an entirely disproportionate place has been given to imparting mere knowledge and training in its use as a means for gaining material advancement. Their attention being directed almost exclusively to the matter of how best to equip students "to make their way in the world," our educators have shown little inclination or ability to evoke in their subjects an awareness of social relationships and of the obligations arising therefrom.

In these days, education has gone over—often extravagantly—to the development of technical skills and the appropriate scientific bases for such skills. This would be excellent were it not for the fact that the universities have failed to develop an equivalent study of, and instruction in, social skill. Students are taught logical and lucid expression; they are not taught that social skill begins in the art of provoking, and receiving, communications from others (*The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, by Elton Mayo, p. 13).

We have failed to train students in the study of social situations; we have thought that first-class technical training was sufficient in a modern and mechanical age. As a consequence we are technically competent as no other age in history has been; and we combine this with utter social incompetence (*Ibid.*, p. 120).

The Social Status of Catholic Education

Even Catholic education has in large measure concentrated on training its subjects *to be good individuals*, upright men and women, dutiful husbands and wives, and so forth. In the equally important field, however, of preparing its students to fulfill their obligations as members of society, it has been seriously delinquent. In our high schools, colleges, and universities there has been little response to the solemn injunction of Pius XI:

... it is of the utmost importance to foster in all classes of society *an intensive program of social education* adapted to the varying degrees of intellectual culture (*Divini Redemptoris*, No. 56).

Not all seminaries have given sufficient heed to the equally solemn directive of the same Pope:

... all candidates for the sacred priesthood must be *adequately prepared* ... by intense study of social matters (*Quadragesimo Anno*, No. 142).

And our teaching Sisters, despite the magnificent work they are doing for the cause of Christ in the classroom, certainly have not been "adequately prepared" in the pedagogy of arousing social alertness in the minds of their young pupils—social indoctrination should be begun even in the earliest school years.

The neglect of Catholic education to follow the instructions of the Pope in these matters accounts more tellingly, perhaps, than any other reason for the tragic lack of social consciousness among most Catholics, not to say most Americans. It is a sad commentary when the products of Catholic education give active support on the one hand as employers to trade associations notorious for their "union-busting" tactics, and on the other hand as workers to communist cliques within trade unionism.

The growing struggle between management and labor is not Catholic, it is not democratic, it is not American.

The remedy for this menacing survival of barbarism is the implementing of the principles laid down by Leo XIII in *Rerum Novarum*, 1891, and later refined and brought up to date by Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno*, 1931, and in *Divini Redemptoris*, 1937. And yet to many Catholics, even priests, these great social documents are known scarcely in name. For such unawareness of the basic principles of the Catholic social program, the Catholic educational system merits serious indictment. Had this system given adequate response to the grave warnings of Pius XI, undoubtedly the present-day crisis would not have assumed such frightening proportions:

... unless serious attempts be made, with all energy and without delay, to put them (Christian social principles) into practice, let nobody persuade himself that the peace and tranquillity of human

society can be effectively defended against the forces of revolution (*Quadragesimo Anno*, No. 62).

And again in 1937:

When our country is in danger, everything not strictly necessary, everything not bearing on the urgent matter of a unified defense, takes second place. So we must act in today's crisis. Every other enterprise, however attractive and helpful, must yield before the vital need of protecting the very foundations of the faith and of Christian civilization (*Divini Redemptoris*, No. 65).

A frank recognition of their deficiency even at this late date, on the part of Catholic educators, and a determination to adjust their curricula accordingly will go far toward establishing the Papal program of industrial democracy, which is designed to counter the "grave disorder which is leading society to ruin" (Q.A., No. 83).

CATHOLIC RADIO COUNCILS

Programs Can Be Cleaned Up

by John H. Williams, S.J.

Saint Stanislaus, Cleveland, Ohio

BEFORE EXPLAINING what a Catholic radio council is all about and how such a council could be organized, let me tell you about three recent happenings in the radio game. Certainly if we had a few live and active Catholic radio councils, or better yet a network of these, something lasting could have been done about the following incidents.

A friend of mine (let's call him Dick) has a very responsible position with one of the radio networks. One of Dick's most important jobs is that of "blue pencil" man — he censors everything that goes out over the air. Dick is a grand person, a Catholic-college grad, the father of a large family, and a very zealous Catholic. But what could a person do in this situation?

On June 10, 1947, the Bob Hope show originated in Chattanooga, Tennessee. Since the network has had trouble with Hope, his off-color gags and his so-called slick ad-libbing, the censor usually has to go over his stuff with a fine comb and with almost a dirty mind. At three o'clock on the afternoon of the show the station manager of the network's outlet in Chattanooga called Dick about Hope's script, which apparently was all right except for the opening gag.

Dick telephoned the station manager and told him that this gag could not go out over the air because it was, to say the least, off-color, if not actually bordering on the immoral. In less than ten minutes Dick was called to the phone again. This time one of the vice presidents from the New York

office of the network was on the line. He wanted to know what was wrong with Hope's opening gag. Hope's script writers, who seem to have a weekly rat race trying to slip off-color material past the censors, had called the network's vice president.

When the gag was repeated to the New York vice president, his reply was: "What's wrong with that gag? I think it's good . . . very funny. Let it go through." What could my friend Dick do?

Had we had some on-the-ball Catholic radio councils, something could have been done to frighten the antenna of the network—the local station from which Hope's program originated — and the sponsor of Hope's program. As far as the writer knows, no word of protest was written with reference to that gag. Maybe few Catholics listen to Hope's program.

"Report Uncensored"

A public-service program called "Report Uncensored," which is heard over Chicago's WBBM on Monday evening at eight o'clock, has roused much comment and plenty of eyebrow-raising in the Chicago area. "Report Uncensored" is a shocker type of program; it attempts to give the what, why, and how of juvenile delinquency in Cook County and other Chicago areas.

The program is dramatically effective. Tape recordings are made of on-the-spot interviews with youngsters who have run afoul of the law. These tape recordings are cleverly woven into a fine dramatic program.

Recently yours truly met Mr. Ben Park, the writer-producer of this program, Mr. Don Kelley, public-relations director of the station, and some representatives of the Chicago Bar Association, which sponsors the program "Report Uncensored." They gave me an opportunity to read the mail that had come to the station as a result of the first three programs in the

series; there must have been at least five hundred letters of commendation from various religious and civic groups as well as from interested individual listeners.

Of these five hundred or so letters of praise and suggestion, how many carried the letterhead of any Catholic organization? Sad to say—just *one*, from the Catholic Youth Organization (CYO) of Chicago.

Mail Influences Radio Policy

If we had a few Catholic radio councils that were really on the beam, WBBM would have been flooded with letters from Catholic groups.

Don't let anyone tell you that a radio station and its program policy is not greatly influenced by the volume of mail received.

The third radio incident just came my way. The radio comedians are going to be put on the spot this fall. The Press Commission of the National Federation of Catholic College Students plans to get down to names in a national poll. The funnymen and the gags will be graded according to five categories, from dirty-minded to clean-minded. The commission is to be headed by Father Joseph Scheuer of St. Joseph's College in Collegeville, Indiana. The poll will be called the Radio Acceptance Poll and will embrace 180 Catholic schools.

The poll will work as follows. Each school will choose ten students (another set each week) to listen to and grade ten programs on which the comedians appear. These students, 1,800 each week, will fill out cards and turn them over to an advisory committee in charge of tabulating. This committee will be watched over by James V. Malone, a Chicago advertising man.

To keep the grading impartial, the Commission plans to stock the board with representatives from each of the four networks, the National Association of Broadcasters, and one promi-

nent Protestant woman, who has no ax to grind politically or in the entertainment world. No comedian on any of the ten programs (to be chosen later) will escape the poll. Neither will the guest stars. The students will have their ears cocked for off-color gags and slick remarks wearing double meanings.

At the end of the thirteen-weeks' poll the most simon-pure will get his or her reward in the form of an engraved trophy. Certainly such an excellent project would be assured of lasting success if we had a network of Catholic radio councils to cooperate with the plan of the National Federation of Catholic College Students.

Your reaction to the title of this article was probably something like this: "Catholic radio council? . . . Never heard of the beast."

What's the Answer?

You're right. You never heard of such a council because to the writer's knowledge none actually exists. But there is a great and immediate need for such Catholic radio councils in each community and especially in each large city.

Anyone who listens to the radio even casually knows what drivel comes over the airwaves and trickles into homes during the afternoon soap-opera cycle. Statistics show that over 50 per cent of the soap operas are based on the triangle love affair, divorce, illegitimate children, and false concepts of love.

The more popular evening programs, especially the comedy type that features name, stage, and radio stars, have developed into a rat race of double-meaning jokes, off-color gags, and seemingly smart and sophisticated ad-libbing.

Such bilge—and we use the word with design—can be stopped by hitting radio—the station or the network and the sponsor—in their only vulnerable spot, their pocketbooks.

By dictionary definition a council is an assembly of persons who meet in consultation or simply to give advice. Hence a radio council is a group organized to consult together on radio programs, to pass on advice to radio stations and the listening public and to develop cooperative relationships between stations and listeners. Such councils have been in existence since 1929.

Councils' Past History

The National Advisory Council on Radio in Education grew out of an idea that germinated in the American Association for Adult Education. The University Broadcasting Council, composed of the University of Chicago, Northwestern University, DePaul University, and three networks, did excellent work in the Chicago area for about four years. But the grants from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation were not renewed, so the entire project petered out.

Even something like a network of radio councils has been in operation since 1939. The Rocky Mountain Radio Council operates on grants provided by the General Education Board, the Payne Fund, the National Committee on Education by Radio, and the Boettcher Foundation of Colorado.

So such councils are not new. There is no reason, other than inertia, why some much-needed *Catholic* radio councils cannot be established immediately.

The purpose of a Catholic Radio Council can be stated in rather broad terms:

1. To develop, encourage, and sponsor broadcasts of educational, cultural, and religious value.
2. To improve the quality and broaden the appeal of existing programs.
3. To establish effective cooperation with radio networks and independent stations so that the obvious advantages of their highly developed technical

facilities and their large established audiences may be secured for educational, cultural, and religious programs.

4. To set up a system of grading local public-service programs (educational, cultural, and religious), and to keep the listening public informed by a monthly bulletin as to what is good, bad, and indifferent over the air.

5. To flood stations, networks, and sponsors with mail when something good originates from them, and to let them know in no uncertain terms when offensive, prejudiced, or outright anti-Catholic material hits the airways.

Before all this can be effectively accomplished, we must get the help of priests and sisters in our high schools, colleges, universities, and parishes who are interested in radio and who know enough about the game to organize and direct intelligently such Catholic radio councils. Certainly the least that should be done should be the forming of pressure listening groups in each of our schools and parishes to flood stations with mail and suggestions.

This cannot be done by mimeographed form letters that are sent out to interested people, who in turn send these "canned" messages of praise or

protest to stations and sponsors. Stations are clever at spotting form-letter material, and they give little time or attention to them.

A few well-organized and alive Catholic radio councils could let the Bob Hopes know via their sponsors that such off-color gags are not wanted. When something in line with Catholic theory or thought, regardless of the sponsor and the program is put on the radio, the persons responsible for such programs would be encouraged and congratulated.

If the excellent plan of the National Federation of Catholic College Students is to be successful, they need such Catholic radio councils at once.

Why couldn't such Catholic radio councils publish in time a graded list of radio programs similar to the excellent work that is being done by the Legion of Decency in the movie industry? What do you say to a Catholic radio council in your school or parish? Are you interested? Or do you think that this suggestion should be dropped as something entailing too much work and being too hot to handle?

One person is very much interested in your reactions, comments, and criticism: the writer of this article.

REPORT FROM ARGENTINA

It's hard to form a judgment of Peron and his principles. Many a time I have been on the verge of thinking he is sincere; after that July radio talk, however, it seems he is looking for world-wide popularity to withstand ever increasing opposition from within. He still has the masses here, but many are breaking away due to increased living expenses, graft in public offices, unfulfilled election promises. Also, he seems to have turned about-face to the States, in spite of all the things he said against us; after all, he needs machinery and technical advice to put into practice his *plan quinquinal*. All these "changes" of policy in a year or less make me think his "principles" aren't deeply founded. Time will tell just how all of this will finally end. These are just some personal impressions.

—A Jesuit observer

PATTERN OF LIFE

The Church and the Colored in Saint Louis

by William B. Faherty, S.J.

Saint Louis University

THIS SPRING I was privileged to give the May-day sermon in honor of Our Lady at St. Mary's Infirmary, the Catholic Hospital for Negroes in St. Louis. Just fourteen years before, during the second year of novitiate, my first Jesuit assignment, hospital probation, had sent me to the same place. St. Mary's had been opened as a colored hospital one month before.

When I returned this spring I thought for a moment of the great initial strides toward the conversion of the Negroes and the improvement of interracial relations that had been taken by Catholics in these intervening fourteen years. They were all merely beginnings in presenting the Church to the Negroes, who make up almost one sixth of the city's population, but the paths had been opened.

I recalled that among the great number of Catholic Churches in St. Louis, 1933, there was no diocesan Negro parish, only the Jesuit church, St. Elizabeth of Hungary. Yet there had been colored Catholics here from colonial days and the children of God of African descent received no welcome in most Catholic Churches of the city. A Catholic high school for boys was not even a dream. Those desirous of higher education went off from Vashon or Sumner Public Schools to Illinois University or Fisk or Howard. Vocations to the priesthood? There were no colored priests in St. Louis.

To understand the interracial situation in St. Louis, so often called the "Rome of the West," a glance at the

background of the city is necessary. Few ancestors of the present-day St. Louis Catholics, predominantly of German and Irish descent, had any connection with slavery, though Missouri was a slave state.

Coming to St. Louis around 1850, these immigrants were strongly pro-North. The Southern cause numbered its supporters among the older families who had come before the Irish-German flood. Though so strongly opposed to the southern stand on secession, these Catholics very inconsistently assumed the southern pattern of thought toward the Negro.

St. Louis is not a southern city — anyone who doubts that need only travel two hundred miles into the cotton country of Southeast Missouri to realize the South is a different world. Still there has existed in St. Louis a "Jim Crow" pattern of life—separate schools, parks, playgrounds, theatres and the like. During decades the Church made little effort to point out to white Catholics that "Jim Crowism" had no place before the altar of Christ.

Thus among St. Louis adult Catholics there remain many traces of the old viewpoints, though the beginnings of change can be dimly seen. Younger people are more fair, but their point of view is often tinged with the basic falsehood that the whites have a superior claim to Catholicism, in which they will allow the colored to participate in "Jim Crow" churches. Among high school students race prejudice has declined rapidly in recent years and little children, fortunately, do not seem to bother about color.

This story of inter-racial relations in St. Louis provides an interesting study for Jesuits of other places, especially for those whose geographical location is, like St. Louis, in that buffer area between North and South.

Growth in Parishes

For a long time St. Louis' only colored parish was St. Elizabeth's with Father William M. Markoe, S.J., as pastor. During the course of its history, this parish published *St. Elizabeth's Chronicle*, which became the present *Interracial Review*, was host to a large convention of Negro Catholics, established a Council of the Knights of St. Peter Claver—to mention a few of its outstanding achievements. No record, however cursory, of the activities of this parish would be complete without reference to the convert work of Father John Lyons, S.J. Under the pastorate of Rev. George Andrews, S.J., whose story was told in *Reader's Digest*, the parish undertook community buying and distributing to provide coal and other needed commodities to its people at very low costs.

St. Nicholas, in a predominantly colored district, had also welcomed Negro Catholics, though it was not officially called a Negro parish as St. Elizabeth's was. Jesuit scholastics initiated the work among the colored there, and the Fathers of the Society of the Divine Word took over. Sisters of the Precious Blood teach the parish school.

St. Peter Claver Mission at Robertson, near the St. Louis airport, was opened by a Jesuit from Florissant in 1916. Holy Guardian Angels' Mission, at South Kinloch Park in St. Louis County, began the same way, but soon became an independent parish. Steadily developed by Father Otto Moorman, S.J., this mission now comprises a church, rectory, school, hall, medi-

cal center and retreat house, where men gather for closed retreats.

Since 1933 many other parishes and missions have been organized, such as the Blessed Martin de Porres Mission begun by priests from St. Peter's Church. Kirkwood, a suburb of St. Louis, and St. Clement Mission, conducted by the Redemptorist Fathers of St. Alphonsus Church. Oblate Sisters of Providence teach the St. Clement Grade School which has over two hundred pupils. St. Malachy's became a Negro parish under the direction of the Jesuits in 1941. Over two hundred and forty Negro children attend the parish school, conducted by the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul. Foremost among future plans of Rev. Ralph Warner, S.J., the pastor, is a day nursery and community center.

Negro children attend St. Bridget's school taught by Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament. Both Negroes and whites attend Mass in the parish Church, which is under the direction of Rev. George A. Rider. Negroes and whites also worship side by side in Our Lady of the Visitation Church under the guidance of their pastor, Rev. John H. Smith. More and more congregations of the city find white and colored assisting at Mass together. Some of these parishes are: St. Francis Xavier (whose organist, Mr. Adrian Johnson, is a Negro), St. Alphonsus, and St. Lawrence O'Toole.

The Quest for Catholic Education

For many years St. Rita's Academy for girls, conducted by the Oblate Sisters of Providence, a congregation of Negro religious, offered the only possibility for Catholic education beyond the grade school level. Catholic boys went to Vashon or Sumner High Schools. A coeducational high school, St. Joseph's, under the direction of two Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet, opened its door to thirteen students

in August, 1937. Within ten years the enrollment had approached two hundred, and the faculty numbered six sisters, who had the assistance of two priests and two lay choral instructors. Father James Corrigan, C.S.S.R., conducts a very successful catechetical class for young Negro converts at the school. Father Patrick J. Molloy has helped St. Joseph's athletic teams gain admission into the Catholic league, an organization composed of all but the six largest Catholic schools in the area. This marked the first instance of organized interracial sport competition in the state of Missouri. St. Joseph's students were graduated from the St. Louis Cathedral this spring along with the senior classes of other diocesan high schools.

The first Negro student to enter St. Louis University High School enrolled in September 1946. Two applicants passed the 1947 entrance examination.

In the summer of 1947 Archbishop Ritter directed that Negroes be permitted to register for the fall term in all high schools supported by diocesan funds. The decision concerning Negroes' admission to privately conducted schools was left to local authorities.

One of the most progressive moves in St. Louis University's century and a quarter of existence, in the opinion of many, was its admission in recent years of Negro students. This farsighted step placed St. Louis University among the first colleges in former slave states to open its door to Negroes. Three colored students received their degrees at the June 1947 commencement.

Negro Catholic nurses receive their training at Sacred Heart Nursing School, connected with St. Mary's Infirmary, a very attractive home that accommodates one hundred students.

During the course of years many St. Louis Negro girls have joined various

sisterhoods. Several candidates for the priesthood among St. Louis Negroes have joined the Society of the Divine Word. In the fall of 1946, Candidate Carle Shelton, a Negro, entered the Novitiate of the the Jesuit Order at Florissant. A novitiate was opened at St. Mary's Infirmary, the same year, for three colored applicants to the Congregation of the Sisters of St. Marys. A short time later each was granted a private audience by His Grace, the Most Reverend Joseph Elmer Ritter, D.D., Archbishop of St. Louis.

In the Social Apostolate

The Oblate Sisters of Providence opened St. Frances Home for Negro Girls in 1888. Today fifteen sisters are occupied in the care of eighty children from nursery to high school age. Father Conleth Overman, of the Congregation of the Passion, is chaplain and spiritual adviser.

The coming of the Helpers of the Holy Souls to St. Louis was a great boon to the work for the conversion of the colored. These religious teach catechism to public school children, conduct sewing clubs for girls, encourage scout activities, supervise recreation, visit hospitals, teach home economic classes for adults — in brief, they engage in an amazing variety of religious and charitable activities.

They opened St. Benedict's Center and Sacred Heart Center (this latter in conjunction with Visitation Parish) as gathering places where Catholic youngsters in public schools could assemble for catechetics and social activities. Jesuit scholastics aid in the religious instruction at St. Benedict's Center.

St. Mary's Infirmary, already mentioned, offered to the people of St. Louis an outstanding example of the solicitude of the Sisters for the physical and spiritual welfare of the Negro people.

The Cana Conference Movement, which has been spreading rapidly among white Catholics, has gained popularity with Negroes. They have attended conferences of Father Edward Dowling, S.J., and others, along with their white brethren.

Interracial Conferences

The St. Louis Clergy Conference on Negro Welfare, composed of about twenty priests, diocesan and regular, under the direction of Father Patrick J. Molloy, meets often to coordinate Catholic activities. Besides the pastors of St. Elizabeth's and St. Malachy's, other Jesuits, Fathers Heithaus, Schneider, Bork and Budzinski, among them, have taken part in this work. A Catholic Interracial Council, which numbered Father John P. Markoe, S.J. among its members, works for the spread of interracial justice. Father Joseph Cantillon, S.J., of the ISO Central Office, has sponsored a number of interracial meetings. Sisters engaged in work for Negroes also have their Conference on Negro Welfare with seven congregations, eight schools, and several other institutions represented.

Besides these strictly Catholic organizations, other non-denominational groups, in which individual Catholics take active parts, find white and colored working harmoniously. The Vice-President of the newly-formed Consumers' Cooperative Association of St. Louis is a colored woman. Chester Stovall, of the Urban League, also a Negro, is on the newly-formed St. Louis Committee for Displaced Persons, along with Archbishop Ritter, Bishop Cody and Father P. J. Holloran, S.J., President of St. Louis University. Many Negroes participate in the work of the youth section of the Conference of Jews and Christians. Jesuits who have taken part in this work include Fathers Thomas Bowdern, John White and Thomas Con-

nery. These are a few examples of cooperation which are helping to erase racial tensions.

A great boon for colored Catholics in St. Louis was the triumphal reception accorded by local Negroes to a young convert, Wendell Pruitt, whose outstanding flying record in the African theatre during the war made him one of the first American aces. His funeral from St. Elizabeth's Church, soon after, following his accidental death at Tuskegee Institute — one of the largest funerals ever given a Negro in St. Louis—, focused the attention of the colored people on the Catholic Church.

A Negro leader—not a Catholic, incidentally,—anxious for greater help from the Church in the struggle against Communism, reminds priests regularly that though Communism is making considerable headway among his people, Negroes are not by nature inclined to such a materialistic and atheistic way of life.

Conclusion

No one can deny that the Church has great opportunities as well as heavy responsibilities in regard to the colored people for whom our present Holy Father has expressed his "special paternal affection." These opportunities can best be seized by a whole-hearted effort on every front—by work for the social and economic advancement of the Negro people, by continuing existing social services and starting new ones, by catechetical instruction, by providing wider opportunities in the field of education, by encouraging every Catholic to act on Christ's word of warning, "... as long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me."

It may well be, too, that the approach to the conversion of the Negro must be different from that accorded whites. Since the Church has always accommodated itself in accidentals to

the people among whom it works, the particular characteristics of the Negro—his love of music and the Scriptures and his unconcern for the Calvinistic conception of Progress with which even some Catholics in America are imbued—may well point the way to the proper approach.

Much of the preliminary spade work has been finished and the spades put away. Individual Jesuits have con-

tributed their share in the cultivation of this apostolic field, not always, we must humbly admit, with the cooperation or even the sympathy of the rest of us. Some of these men have been mentioned above. Others are deserving of mention, but a mere listing of names would avail nothing. Their activities are listed in the province catalogues, their achievements in the Book of Life.

BENEATH THE SOUTHERN CROSS

Jesuitana in the Caribbean

by John Peter Sullivan, S.J.
Jamaica, British West Indies

SOMEONE has suggested a brief, presumably a factual piece on joint Jesuit social activity in the Caribbean. That there is Jesuit social action in that tropical area is clear, unmistakable. That it is everywhere joint and hence consciously coordinated would be difficult to prove.

True on the occasion of *La Primera Semana Social del Caribe* held at *Ciudad Trujillo* of the Dominican Republic in February of this year there were Jesuit social actionists from five provinces and two hemispheres, Missouri and New England men giving the *Americano* touch. Furthermore to the extent that Jesuits doing Caribbean work will be involved in the permanent Catholic Action Federation, which was created as a result of the Trujillo meeting, to that extent will the note of "jointness" be apparent. But aside from that some edifying and in fact very promising pioneering work, specifically in the cooperative and rural-life fields, has been instigated by what we might term Caribbean Jesuits.

In British Guiana for example, a

huge, sprawling colony off the northeast coast of South America, the men of Ignatius from the province of England have been actively absorbed in cooperative development. I do not mean that they have been merely writing and lecturing on the subject; they have been organizing it right down to the ground, with the people.

A standout in this field is Father A. V. Ellis, S.J., giant of a man with an unexpectedly soft voice and a delightful English accent, who has done some tough, backbreaking organizational work in cooperative credit and marketing. Also on the co-op theme he has stirred up the B. G. press in a most engaging manner.

In the same colony Father Frank Fenn, S.J., also of the English Province, has organized the Sword of the Spirit, has got mixed up very effectively in the country's major educational discussions, and in between times edits the *Catholic Standard*, the vicariate's lively monthly.

Over in Central America, where British Honduras is the responsibility

of the men from Missouri, cooperative development seems to have gone ahead of the British Guiana achievement. There are a number of parish credit unions. There is a colony-wide credit union league. Significantly the letterheads of the league's correspondence reveal the address: "St. John's College Extension School, Belize." Moreover during this past year Jesuits from British Honduras and Jamaica met and analyzed clause by clause the projected British Honduras Credit Union legislation.

Now in British Honduras there are several Jesuit Fathers engaged in co-op work. I am more acquainted personally with the achievements of Father Moore and Father Ganey in this line. Experienced and not easily impressed Jamaica co-op leaders who met Father Ganey this past February were positively astounded at the quasi co-op miracles Father Ganey has brought off among the depressed Caribs in the southern sector of the colony.

It would be a tragedy if someday some clever journalist did not squeeze that story out of Father Ganey. For that story ranks with Little Dover and Paddy the Cope. Except . . . it is so hard to put that squeeze on Father Ganey.

Foyaca of Cuba

Up in Cuba, just a few Pan-American airline miles north of here, there is a Jesuit, Padre Manuel Foyaca, who is just about the whole works in the labor field. It was agreed unanimously that he stole the show at Trujillo in February, though he had to compete with delegates from fourteen Caribbean countries. But it was no surprise. He was expected to do just that, and he did it. Father Foyaca is professor of sociology at Belen College in Havana. He is the author of *Un*

Nuevo Orden Economico-Social and director of the monthly news service called *Justicia Social Cristiana*.

While eminently a scholarly man, he is a power on the street corner. One night in February of this year I heard him speak from what was practically a soapbox set up in the public park in Trujillo. He was surrounded by about ten thousand people, and he gave the communists, whose existence in some Caribbean areas is no joke, about as intelligent a working over as I have ever heard.

Over in the northeast in the Dominican Republic, Jesuits from the Province of Leon are just beginning to get into active social work and down on the soil with the *campesinos*. Since everything in the republic is termed "Dominican," it might not be inaccurate to term these men Dominican Jesuits.

New England Jesuits

The story of the social-action efforts of the New England Jesuits on the island of Jamaica is fairly well known in the States. But perhaps not so well known is the definitely outstanding achievements of Father Frank Kempel, S.J., of Akron, Ohio, the genius behind the whole egg-marketing-co-op movement on that island. I feel it is quite safe to say about 98 per cent of the membership in the island co-op-marketing federation is Protestant and . . . they have again elected Father Kempel to be their federation's president.

Then there is the work of Father Charles Judah, S.J., Jamaican Jesuit, who has also done a splendid job in the co-op organizing field not only in the marketing line but especially in the really heroic performance he put on against tough odds when he set up a promising Catholic religious-goods store on a strictly co-op basis.

ISO FORUM

The Closed Shop and the Taft-Hartley Law

INTRODUCTION

IT MAY SEEM that any discussion of the Taft-Hartley Law at this time is premature. Some of those whom we asked to comment declined for that reason. The one thing certain about the law is its involved legal technicalities. As one spokesman at a recent New York seminar put it—"do nothing without first consulting your lawyer, and then check up on him."

Among the more widely discussed provisions of the Act are those dealing with union security. Section 8 of the new law makes it an unfair labor practice for an employer "by discrimination in regard to hire or tenure of employment . . . to encourage or discourage membership in any labor organization: PROVIDED, That nothing in this Act . . . shall preclude an employer from making an agreement with a labor organization . . . to require as a condition of employment membership therein on or after the thirtieth day following the beginning of such employment . . . if . . . the Board shall have certified that at least a majority of the employees eligible to vote . . . have voted to authorize such labor organization to make such an agreement: PROVIDED FURTHER, That no employer shall justify any discrimination . . . for nonmembership in a labor organization (A) if he has reasonable grounds for believing that such membership was not available to the employee on the same terms and conditions generally applicable to other members, or, (B) if he has reasonable grounds for believing that membership was denied or terminated for reasons other than failure of the employee to tender the periodic dues and the initiation fees"

This section of the Act clearly renders a union shop agreement unenforceable. Such an agreement by its very terms requires the employer to discriminate against nonmembers in hiring. A limited form of union shop is still permissible under the law.

We asked our contributors to discuss only one phase of the law: WILL THE POSITION OF LABOR UNIONS BE WEAKENED BY THE BANNING OF THE CLOSED SHOP AS PROVIDED IN THE TAFT-HARTLEY LAW? Their contributions speak for themselves. Unfortunately, not many representatives of industry cared to venture opinions.

Though it is too early to predict the definite trend of events, the following statements stand in the nature of a forecast.

FATHER CORRIDAN

Reverend John M. Corridan, S.J., is associated with the Xavier Institute of Industrial Relations in New York and has been devoting the larger part of his time recently to a field study of industrial relations in the New York metropolitan area.

LEGAL CONSIDERATIONS that make uncertain any judgments of LMRA's effects on union security provisions are:

1. The LMRA may not apply to some strongholds of closed-shop arrangements, e.g. the building trades as intrastate commerce.

2. Existing bargaining units, existing certifications and existing union security provisions will in greater part remain unchanged for *at least* one year.

a. All agree that contracts entered into "prior to the date of enactment of this act" are good for the *duration* of the contract.

b. A decision will have to be handed down by the new board as to whether agreements renewed, extended, or amended between the enactment and effective dates are good until their date of *termination* and are not bound by the limit of one-year exemption from the closed-shop prohibition as applies definitely to *new* agreements (Section 102) between those dates.

3. Section 8a (3) A also stands in need of clarification:

"Provided further, That no employer shall justify any discrimination against an employee for nonmembership in a labor organization (A) if he has reasonable grounds for believing that such membership was not available to the employee on the *same terms and conditions generally* applicable to other members. . . ."

BNA's observation based on the conference report submitted by the managers on the part of the House, is as follows: "... So far as the law's union-shop proviso goes, a union appears free to lay down any rules it chooses for *eligibility to membership* and to demand the *discharge* of any employee who fails to qualify for membership under its rules."

Such are some of the uncertain legal aspects of union security as an *internal* something. The degree of control over jobs that a union membership entrusts to its leadership under constitutions and contracts in return for collective security will—in *ordine reali*—be greatly affected by certain *external* aspects of union security under the act.

1. The variable practical reactions of employers under the Act.

2. The Government's attitude as reflected in:

a. the *kind* of administration that the new board will give with two of its members and the *pivotal* general counsel unconfirmed by the Senate.

b. the decisions of the Supreme Court on the inevitable test cases of dubious constitutional provisions.

c. the behavior of the Joint Committee on Labor-Management Relations under Ball-Hartley leadership.

3. The effect of the act on new organizational drives and on the unorganized.

4. The general economic and political climate as a Presidential election approaches.

The activity of these variables will have almost as much influence in determining the attitudes of a union-security-conscious membership as the kind of leadership a divided labor

movement provides. In general it is safe to say:

1. Union leadership wishes to work "outside" the act where it can safely do so.

2. A surprising number of employers will comply with their wishes, since privately they don't relish having the Government at the bargaining table.

3. The C. I. O. is more fearful of the act than the A. F. of L. Section 9b (appropriate unit) will be as much a headache to management as it is to the C. I. O. Sections 8b (1) B, 203c, 209b can affect the C. I. O. adversely.

4. It will slow up organizational drives as:

a. Unions are forced to concentrate their resources on self-preservation.

b. Sections 8c (free speech) and 10c (discharge for cause) as well as the time factor can be used to thwart organizational efforts.

5. The new legal rights acquired by the individual employee sound much better in the law than they will ever work out in practice.

6. The act ironically enough gave the communists in the trade-union movement a much needed shot in the arm.

7. The confusion on both sides of the table is indirectly compensated for by the compulsion on union leadership to give more careful consideration to the rank and file.

8. The law solves nothing but makes education more imperative than ever.

The LMRA is a bonzana for lawyers, business services, and institutes of industrial relations.

MR. DUBINSKY

Mr. David Dubinsky is president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT seeks to cripple the effectiveness of labor unions by destroying the concept and practice of union security. It does this by prohibiting the closed shop and by allowing the union shop (under which nonunion workers may be hired but who must join the union after the expiration of a specified trial period) only under such limitations as to amount in many cases to a virtual prohibition. Some ten million American workers are now employed under collective-bargaining agreements which establish one or another of these types of employment units or their minor variations.

The labor movement of America cannot and will not acquiesce in the destruction of guarantees of union security. As Father Toner has demonstrated in his authoritative work *The Closed Shop*, guarantees of union security date back to the beginning of this country and even earlier to the English guild system. The labor movement early recognized that the collective strength of a trade union could be maintained only if all workers in a plant were unified by membership in the union.

Bitter experience with the employer strategy of "divide and conquer" early convinced workers that every non-union worker in a shop was a real or potential menace to the common interests of union members. Workers soon learned that the open shop really meant a shop without union workers.

Workers feel also that union security is the essence of fairness and democracy. By law the union representing the majority of the workers in a bargaining unit must act for all the workers in the unit. It is therefore

democratic for the minority to accept the decision of the majority and to abide by the rules and principles of that union. They must be as ready to assume the obligations and responsibilities of union membership as they are happy to accept the benefits of its collective agreements. Americans do not like "free riders." Consequently millions of union workers will not as a matter of principle work in the same plant with nonunion workers. The mixed-shop idea is a fallacy.

We in the ILGWU know all this from our own experience. Practically all of our 400,000 members are now employed under union-shop agreements. It was not always so. In our earlier years union-security guarantees could not be obtained. The union was without influence, the sweatshop flourished, and strikes were frequent.

But since the union shop was adopted, in 1915, our industry has demonstrated how constructive a factor union security can be in stabilizing industrial relations and in enabling our union to contribute toward efficiency and harmony. We have not had a major strike since 1933. Our employers consider union security—as do many others—a stabilizing influence in labor-management relations. They know it helped eliminate the sweatshop and the chiseler. They know that it fosters union responsibility. By and large they desire its continuation. This experience has been duplicated in other industries.

While the Taft-Hartley Act will make the functioning of unions much more difficult, it is still too early to do more than speculate about its effect on union security. That depends in the main upon management, to whom this law gives the initiative. In well-organized industries with histories of sound collective bargaining, it is to be hoped that employers will maintain their constructive approach. If that continues, ways and means can be

found to enable unions to function as responsible organizations. In weakly organized industries intransigent employers can most effectively utilize the law to cripple the unions involved.

If any material segment of employers embarks upon an effort to crush unions by denying union security, it is certain that labor-management relations will be marked by strife and chaos, with resulting harm to our entire economy. For American workers realize and appreciate the benefits and the better way of life they now enjoy because of the leadership of their unions. They will not lightly see them sacrificed.

FATHER FRIEDL

Reverend John C. Friedl, S.J., is founder and director of the Institute of Social Order, Rockhurst College, Kansas City, Missouri.

“AS PROVIDED in the Taft-Hartley Act,” the banning of the closed-shop will not to my mind noticeably weaken unions already established in the closed-shop tradition. Numerically there may be a slight weakening in the eyes of those who judge strength by counting heads. This and other provisions of the act will undoubtedly provide an “out” for the weak sisters, that is, for those rugged Yankee individualists who are also discoverable in the worker segment. Not every union member who pays dues is necessarily union-minded. Section 8 (a) (3) of the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 will be a challenge to some hitherto complacent union officers who had things a bit too easy under the automatic union-security machinery of the past few years. These men will now be confronted with the problem of “getting out the vote”; and since brass-knuckle inducements, restraint, and coercion are ruled out by the act, they will be faced with the need to

initiate a type of "education" that will convince the mind and heart, not the pocketbook, of the unwilling member or the prospective union member. Who knows but what this challenge may light the fires of an "apostolate" which may strengthen rather than weaken the union movement?

Although not specifically mentioned by name in the act, the ban on all but one type of union security has been popularly referred to as "outlawing" the closed shop. This has led the general public to believe that after August 22, 1947, the closed shop will be as dead as the dodo and as illegal and sinful as cattle rustling.

The simple effect of Section 8a (3) of the Taft-Hartley Act is to give to employers an exclusive and complete control over all hiring, since the only type of union security permitted by this provision is one requiring membership in a union *after* the employee has been hired.

This does not mean that the closed shop is completely "outlawed," where this expression is equivalent to complete eradication. Nor does it mean that no closed shop can enjoy existence without the blessing of the new law. Any closed shop agreement negotiated before June 23, 1947, and extended even for an indefinite period of years must be honored. Any similar agreement negotiated between June 23 and August 22, 1947, can enjoy legal existence for another year at least. Extralegally (though perhaps functioning under an assumed name) and in actual practice the substance of closed shop union security may well continue on in spite of Section 8a (3)—for various reasons. The disappearance of the formal closed shop agreement will make no perceptible difference in the hiring practice and procedure of many an employer, since the traditionally "strong" union, especially if organized on a craft basis, frequently controls the total supply of

its particular type of skilled labor. This explains the fact that hitherto 30 per cent of all organized employees were working under closed shop conditions. An employer now has the right to employ whomsoever he "wants." There is a strong likelihood that he may "want" only the union type of labor, especially if no other prospective employees of the required skill and training are available for employment at a moment's notice. This day-to-day, hour-to-hour need of an employer has made almost indispensable the "employment service" currently afforded by many unions.

PROFESSOR GREGORY

Professor Charles O. Gregory of the University of Chicago School of Law is the author of the recently published book Labor and the Law reviewed in the ISO BULLETIN, April 1947.

STRICTLY SPEAKING, the Taft-Hartley Act does not ban the closed shop in so many words; although it certainly appears to do so inferentially by making it an employer unfair labor practice "by discrimination in regard to hire or tenure of employment or any term or condition of employment to encourage or discourage membership in any labor organization." Also a proviso permits under stipulated circumstances what amounts to a union shop. Hence it becomes an employer unfair labor practice to agree to hire originally only union members. Elsewhere in section 8 of the act it is an union unfair labor practice to exert pressure on an employer to compel him to engage in conduct amounting to an unfair labor practice. Since the board is charged with preventing the commission of unfair labor practices of any kind, it follows that such pursuits are virtually banned.

It has long been apparent that exclusive representation rights afforded

to a union in a given bargaining unit insures to such union most of the substantial advantages theretofore implicit in the closed-shop arrangement. Thus the union is able to establish uniform working conditions throughout the unit in question and is not subject to the attritional pressures of subunion standards which might otherwise be acceptable to nonunion members of the same unit. But this does not obviate the "free riders" — the unit members willing to accept the advantages won by the union but unwilling to contribute financially to support the union's efforts to secure those advantages. Although the universal checkoff of union dues or their money equivalent—to be paid to the union on account of each unit member, whether or not he belongs to the union—might solve the problem of the "free rider," the unions would naturally like to handle this matter by securing the closed shop, since they will thus gain the additional security of perfect bargaining strength.

In the now-permitted union shop many people believe however, that unions may enjoy all of the security afforded by the closed shop. Obviously this is not true as long as unions remain free to dictate in advance the conditions of securing union membership. For under such circumstances they were in a position to dictate to employers who were committed to closed-shop agreements whom they might or might not hire. Yet in view of recent judicial developments indicating that under modern labor-relations acts employee organizations may not have both the closed shop and a closed union, it has become doubtful whether the closed shop as such is any longer of more advantage to unions than is the union shop. From recent judicial trends it has become fairly apparent that unions may no longer

capriciously or arbitrarily deny membership to workmen whom they either dislike or distrust if such denial means the inability of such excluded workmen to secure jobs.

Hence as a general proposition it is hard to say that unions have really been weakened by having been forced under the Taft-Hartley Act to abandon the closed shop in favor of the union shop. For under the union shop they may enjoy practically all of the advantages of union security to which they are justly entitled; and the "free rider" difficulty will thus have effectively been solved.

But the proviso of section 8a (3) of the act has made it exceedingly difficult for unions to secure even the union shop. In the first place a union is not in a position to obtain this advantage until it has been certified under section 9 and until a majority of the unit employees *eligible* to vote—quite a different thing from the majority of those voting—have approved the union-shop contract. There are of course other qualifications in this proviso, but they are not sufficiently important to comment upon here.

In closing, it can be said that unions will have suffered little if any weakness in losing the closed shop as long as they may still get the union shop. The fact remains however that the act has made it much more difficult for unions to secure even this advantage. And under section 14b of the new NLRA they cannot get it at all in states which prohibit both forms of union security. On the whole therefore it must be conceded that the net effect of the Taft-Hartley Act will be to weaken unions insofar as their strength in the past has depended on their having obtained closed shop agreements.

FATHER KELLY

Reverend George A. Kelly received his doctorate in social science at the Catholic University. At present he is associate chaplain of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists and Professor of Labor Ethics at the ACTU Central Labor School, New York City.

THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT has outlawed the closed shop with the closed union. It has not outlawed but has severely restricted the closed shop with the open union (the union shop). We are seeking to discover, I trust, what effect the former ban will have on the trade-union movement. The effect of the new legislation concerning the union shop is another question entirely.

It is difficult to determine to what extent the labor movement is characterized by the closed shop with the closed union. For this reason one can only hazard a guess as to whether trade unions generally will be weakened by the banning of this type of closed shop. Closed shop (with closed union) agreements cover only a minority of organized workers. Such contracts are in vogue in the garment industry, in the coal mines, in the printing and building trades, and in certain segments of the motion-picture, glass, shipping, textile, and other industries. Most frequently they are found among highly specialized craft workers whose skills have not been destroyed by technological advance. The A. F. of L. therefore will suffer more from the new law in this respect than will the C. I. O.

The general effect of this amendment's banning the closed shop with the closed union will vary from place to place and from industry to industry. It must be remembered that the Taft-Hartley Act applies only to interstate industries. Therefore it will hardly affect traditional relationships in the printing and building trades,

which are predominantly intrastate. If industrial states follow the pattern of the Taft-Hartley Act in outlawing the closed shop, or if the courts submit to the pressure of forces who are seeking to have the printing and building trades brought within the meaning of "interstate commerce," evidently the whole structure of trade unionism in these industries will be radically changed. But for the present closed-shop contracts in these trades are untouched by the Taft-Hartley prohibition.

In the case of the mining industry, it is well to remember that the operators will not send into the pits—nor will he be wise to go—a worker who is unacceptable to the union. Since mining is a hazardous occupation and since the safety of the men depends upon the weeding out of careless workers, the operators will not force upon the union anyone who is not already approved by the union. In other instances (the motion-picture operators come immediately to mind) where the jobs are few, the union strong, and the number of operators superfluous, it is unlikely that the movie magnates will jeopardize their own security by increasing the unemployment of union operators merely to give jobs to nonunion men.

A fair conclusion therefore would seem to be that where the circumstances of the situation demand the closed shop with the closed union, the union monopoly over jobs will not be radically upset by the Taft-Hartley Act. In these cases the closed shop will exist, not by contract, but by custom, as it now does throughout a considerable portion of industry in Great Britain.

It might not be amiss for an outsider to suggest that the end of the closed shop with the closed union might be a blessing in disguise to the trade-union movement. Where economic circumstances absolutely require it—and these cases are few—

the closed shop will go on regardless of what laws are passed. But in other instances (the building trades give us a classic example) the strength given to the unions by their closed union is proving to be their greatest weakness. By selfishly taking advantage of their power, the construction unions have jeopardized the prosperity of the building industry and have brought nothing less than ill-repute to the trade union movement. These unions might be better from a social point of view if they did not have their absolute job control to fall back on every time they wanted to declare: "The public be damned."

MR. MALONE

Mr. Vincent J. Malone is president of the Pacific Coast Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers' Association.

THE ANSWER IS OBVIOUS. The banning of the closed shop as provided by the Taft-Hartley Act will weaken unions that were weak anyway before the bill was passed, but the strong unions will be unaffected.

The very fact that unions in certain industries are strong will tend toward a kind of bootleg nonobservance of the act. This was dramatically demonstrated by John L. Lewis and his United Mine Workers in the agreement signed with the colliery operators.

In the building trades for example, where the carpenters of the country are almost 100 per cent in the Carpenters' Union, the building contractors are not going to face certain ruin by even attempting to toss in a nonunion carpenter, who would not be in most cases so good a craftsman.

It is not very well understood by the lawmakers that the greatest demand for the closed shop comes, not from the officialdom of the unions, but from the membership.

Prior to 1934 the fireman on west-coast vessels received forty-five dollars a month. Today the same job pays (with overtime for Sundays and holidays at sea) close to three hundred dollars a month. Obviously the men who have fought to raise the wages and the living conditions that are a part of seagoing earnings want to have some measure of security. They do not see why they should have gone out on strike for 98 days at a stretch to boost those wages and then have some newcomer show up and smilingly grab off the attractively paid job.

The closed shop has been to him a measure of protection. Union opponents have condemned it as a resort of lazy officials too inept to go out and sell the newcomers on the advantage of unionism. As a matter of fact these newcomers throng the union halls, their fists full of money to pay the initiation fee and dues. All they want are those swell paying jobs.

As far as any cynical officials are concerned, such a setup could be one of the finest rackets in the world.

Nothing to do but sit back and scoop up the rich harvest of initiations with the welfare of the old-time member a secondary consideration.

However in those unions where the primary consideration is the welfare of the membership, the pressure from the solid core of the membership is such that they will resist to the utmost any attempts to destroy their security. Thus the strong unions have to take a strong stand. To break it, Taft-Hartley Act or no Taft-Hartley Act, the employers know they will have to sacrifice themselves in a series of rugged strikes.

We doubt whether any group of employers will deliberately ruin themselves to try and enforce the unenforceable.

In framing the Taft-Hartley Act, the lawmakers have proceeded with

their own conception of how unions function. Obviously they have felt that the primary consideration of union leadership is to rake in the shekels and that practically the only reason for expelling a man is for nonpayment of dues.

There are many good and sufficient reasons for expulsion, all supported by regular trial committees and all well able to stand up in the light of public opinion. Thus in our organization undesirable elements can be expelled — dope addicts, petty-larceny thieves, knife wielders, drunken gas-hounds, sex-crazy misfits. We have come across them all, and we don't want their company or their money under any circumstances.

MISS PETERSON

Miss Florence Peterson is an economist with the U. S. Department of Labor and author of American Labor Unions and Survey of Labor Economics.

A CLOSED-SHOP AGREEMENT signifies that the union has control of the labor market — that entrants into the trade or industry are funneled through the union. Closed-shop agreements are almost entirely confined to the skilled crafts and to some of the seasonal industries where employment is intermittent and workers must frequently shift their places of employment. Closed-shop agreements serve to bolster and protect union-apprenticeship systems in the skilled trades, and the union hiring halls (concomitants to closed shops) provide means for the even distribution of available work among the membership.

For the immediate future at least I do not think that the particular clause in the Taft-Hartley Act prohibiting closed-shop agreements will materially affect those unions which have long operated under the closed-shop ar-

rangement, namely the printing, building, and clothing unions. In these industries the closed shop will probably remain *de facto* even though there are no specific clauses to that effect in their contracts. Most of these employers have become accustomed to hiring through the unions and accepting union cards as tokens of job qualification. The few who wish to change existing arrangements by hiring outside the union will probably find that their present employees are too "union-minded" to work beside nonunion persons.

Under such circumstances, the employer's only recourse will be to recruit an entirely new labor force of nonunion workers with the required skills—and not many employers can do this under present labor conditions. A severe depression may alter the situation. But if this happens, the basic cause will be severe unemployment and competition for jobs rather than the legal ban on the closed shop.

(Without such legislation the closed shop went by default in many instances during the worst of the 1930's depression but was reestablished with the return of work opportunities and demand for skilled workers.)

In industries where the closed shop has not become established practice, unions will be handicapped to the extent that they feel the need for such arrangements. For example some of the maritime unions which recently have been pressing for closed-shop agreements will now be thwarted by the new law. Although this may not weaken their immediate position, their inability to obtain the closed shop under the present labor-market situation may make it difficult for them to maintain their strength when the labor-market situation changes.

Few unions in the mass-production industries will be affected by the closed-shop clause in the Taft-Hartley Act because these unions seldom seek

closed-shop agreements. They have not cared to assume responsibility for the hiring and training of new employees although they have insisted upon seniority rules to protect the jobs of those who are hired. It is not the prohibition of the closed shop in the Taft-Hartley Act which threatens their strength: it is the restrictions upon union-shop agreements and the removal of many of the protections extended under the Labor Relations and Anti-injunction acts.

MR. ROLLINGS

Mr. John I. Rollings is executive secretary of the Central Trades and Labor Union of the St. Louis area.

A MINORITY OF CONTRACTS in interstate commerce or in industries affecting commerce contain closed-shop provisions. Closed-shop agreements are a prevailing practice in building-trades unions and in printing trades; other unions have some contracts with this form of union security. A majority of the printing industry has been covered by the previous National Labor Relations Act in the building and construction industry for on-the-site construction. However it is presumed that this new act will accept jurisdiction of on-the-site construction in the building industry. Therefore the field wherein the greatest number of closed-shop agreements are found would be affected.

Closed-shop provisions in the printing and building industries have been in effect for three-quarters of a century. The unions composed of highly skilled workers—and this would be applicable to all highly skilled crafts—and their employers have found it impractical to maintain a high level of skill unless a central clearinghouse was used for the purpose of supplying tradesmen when and where needed. The building industry especially, with

its varied locations and multiple employers during a year, found it impossible to retain sufficient tradesmen to complete their jobs. Therefore when a large job was started, the unions representing the skills needed by the contractor were contacted, and an adequate supply of workers was furnished. When the building was erected, the men returned to the union office for further employment at a new location and with a new employer. It is not uncommon for a skilled building tradesman to work for fifty different employers during the period of a year; the same is true of a printing tradesman, except perhaps in permanent situations with daily newspapers.

Under the Taft-Hartley Act if an employer is compelled to employ any one without the qualifications flowing from membership in a skilled-trade union, the standards of the craft union will certainly be diluted, to say nothing of the dissension that will be created by such an act among the workmen on a particular job. Consistent employment of nonmembers would dilute the standards of working conditions and the wages established by the union and would eventually render the union impotent in its effort on behalf of the members it serves.

The act which prevents a closed shop, the employee who refuses to carry his fair share of the burden of maintaining a union, the employer who consistently employs in accordance with the act—if each were followed to its logical conclusion, the union would be destroyed completely.

While prohibiting the closed shop the act places tight restrictions on a union shop, *i.e.*, one where the employer hires but where the employee becomes a member of the union within thirty days. A majority of *all* employees in the bargaining unit must authorize a union shop—not merely a majority of those voting in the election for that purpose. After one year

thirty per cent may petition for the union's dissolution.

However even this semblance of protection is destroyed by the provision which places state laws in control where states have banned any form of union security.

There is no doubt that, if it stands, the law will weaken unions to the point where they will be useless instruments for the improving of working standards and wages of American workers.

FATHER TONER

Reverend Jerome L. Toner, O.S.B., contributed to the June ISO Forum on Labor Monopoly. He has served as a member of the War Labor Board and is nationally known for his study, The Closed Shop.

THE ANSWER IS YES. The degree of the weakening will depend upon many factors. After the effective date of the banning of the closed shop, nearly one third of the existing collective-bargaining relationships will be outlawed and some new type of relationship will have to be established. The fruits of friendly and harmonious employer-employee-union relationships will be destroyed. The cooperation and efficiency of those relationships will be diminished. And the potential power given to the antiunion employers, especially during the periods of recession and depression, which many people forget are far more normal and lasting under free enterprise than the period of prosperity and full employment, is appalling.

Weakening of the position of the union must have been the intent of the men behind the legislative curtain. It was most probably based on the false charges which blamed all the evils of collective bargaining and union management on the closed shop. The classic examples of such false charges against the closed-shop concentration

of power and union abuses were those made during the railroad and steel strikes, where the closed shop did not exist. It was prohibited by law in the former and was not the prevalent practice in the latter.

The right to work without belonging to a union could not have been the sacred and inalienable right that senators and congressmen were trying to protect when they made the closed shop illegal, since by making the union shop legal under certain conditions, they permitted this so-called sacred right to be taken from employees. Had the absolute right to work without belonging to a union, which the press, radio, and other media of information considered to be the "mandate of the people," been made a part of the Taft-Hartley Act, the union-weakening intent in the banning of the closed shop would not be so patent.

Had Congress applied the same protections to employees, proximate or remote, under the closed-shop contracts that now are afforded to employees under the union-shop contract, the worker's so-called right to work would have been similarly protected. The inescapable conclusion of outlawing the closed shop while the union shop is permitted—a distinction without a difference—is the weakening of the position of the union.

MR. TRACY

Mr. Daniel W. Tracy is International President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

AT THE OUTSET it is well to remember that the closed shop was not closed and the open shop was not open. Both terms — closed and open — as applied to union labor were invented by industrialists. The closed shop was an exclusive union shop, exclusive in the sense that only union men could work there. But all competent workers

were eligible and were taken into union membership. The shop was not closed. The open-shop was not open to cardmen, except when they kept their cards hidden in their hip pockets. Thus the union shop was held up as exclusive, "un-American," and the open shop was praised as free, "American."

Looking behind this situation, one can readily see that the true condition was not depicted. Where employers entered into voluntary agreement with their working forces and found this arrangement advantageous and profitable, where the morale of the working force was as a result, maintained at a high pitch, where unions gave full production in return, where unions supplied highly-trained workmen graduated from apprentice systems, we had an excellent system well adapted to democratic processes. There are thousands of such establishments at work in this land. Employers believe in them, and workers believe in them. Persons who say they believe in democracy should also believe in such establishments.

Now the Taft-Hartley Act moves against the democratic shop by calling all exclusively union shops closed. This is a legal fiction, as we have shown. When advantageous, profitable, and workable agreements are entered into voluntarily by employers and unions, they must be interfered with

and weakened in order to meet the distorted notions of industrial conditions held by lawyers in seats of power in Congress. Some employers believe firmly that the Taft-Hartley Act moves against historic, primal, and vested rights when it seeks to interfere thus with voluntary contracts. Robert M. Chesney, president of National Electrical Contractors Association, an employer organization, says:

"As employers we feel, too, that legislation outlawing the closed shop impairs the employer's right of contract. If an employer prefers to deal only with a group of men who have sold him their worth and responsibility, should he not be permitted to do so? To ban the closed shop is merely to restrict further the employer's right to bargain and to contract with persons of his own choice.

"A law banning the closed shop in our industry might have just the opposite of the effect desired by the sponsors of anti-closed-shop legislation in the Congress. Such bills, if enacted into law, might well create chaos in industrial relations."

So the answer to the question posed by SOCIAL ORDER is yes. But social-minded employers will also be weakened. The democratic process will also be weakened. And the needed, growing system of union-management relations will be greatly weakened.

FACTS

"You ought to observe and not to judge," was the advice jolly old Father Max Pribilla, veteran member of the Jesuit *Stimmen der Zeit*, gave me in Munich. In other words, get the facts first and only then make your judgments.

But one of the *facts* one becomes aware of soonest is the contradictory reports one gets not only as between German and American, but even as between German and German, and American and American. For one who can tell you of the brutality and inhumanity of U. S. policy in general and GIs in particular, there is another one who can instance examples of just the contrary. For one who testifies that the Germans are cured of Nazism, there is another who says that they have learned nothing.

—Fr. Robert Graham, from Germany

LABOR-MANAGEMENT COOPERATION

We Don't Even Know What Kind We Want

by James L. McShane, S.J.

Saint Louis University

WE ALL LIKE to see strikes eliminated; we all like to see stoppages ended and work resumed.

We like to see an incentive plan or a guaranteed plan which boosts production introduced.

We like to see the employer provide his workers with all kinds of bowling, brass bands to play in, picnics, rest periods, extra lunches, soothing music over public-address systems, and all the rest.

But it doesn't necessarily follow that real labor-management cooperation exists in any of these three given situations.

Often when a bitter strike is ended, the result is no more than a truce, and bitterness continues to simmer under the surface. It happens too that some kind of piece-work plan gets workers to turn out more work each hour and make more money—while at the same time they hate the plan and the planner. No matter how many gadgets an employer may try, he will not win real cooperation so long as he hands out benefits in the manner of a benevolent donor.

Real cooperation consists not merely in external action whereby management and labor carry on the actual work of turning out the same product. Real cooperation is not secured by energy and interest that drive a man to produce faster under a system of paternalism. Real cooperation will not be gained merely by increased wages.

These statements are so obvious that there would seem to be no need to mention them. But I think you will agree that —perhaps because they are

so obvious—they have been very much neglected. "Let's have better legislation; then we'll have industrial peace . . . better union contracts . . . more workers organized . . . profit sharing . . . expel communists . . . cut out factionalism in unions . . . shackle union leaders who are ruining unions and industry . . . insure full employment. . . ." These are the recommendations that are being made as the way to industrial peace. We tend to say: "There are great obstacles to industrial peace. First these obstacles must be knocked out."

Real cooperation lies in the spirit of cooperation and therefore in agreement of minds and wills. But the will acts freely; no one can force it. Hence the *only* way to achieve the spirit of cooperation is to *want* to do so. The best means to promote real cooperation is to promote the desire for it.

Experts in labor relations have in recent years been finding this out by experience. Their experiences will be cited below.

Conflict has always been found in industry. This is a historical fact. Karl Marx did not invent class conflict; he merely discovered it and erected the fact into a philosophy and a program. He helped to establish the fact that workers who own no productive property and exercise no control over their own work or the products of their work (except the negative control of quitting the job) gradually become conscious that they form a group, a class. This consciousness tends to weld them into a more closely knit unit so that they begin to act

more as a unit. Once the nonowning workers have become aware of their common condition and common interests, they tend to act against the wealthier group, to which employers belong.

We readily think of "*Quadragesimo Anno*" as a document concerned with the distribution of income. But it is well to remember that Pius XI was more concerned with a greater evil—cleavage in society caused by hostility of employer and employee.

I think that most readers will be surprised to see how Pius XI concentrated his emphasis on this point instead of on others: "First and foremost the state and every good citizen ought to look to and strive toward this end: that the conflict between hostile classes be abolished . . . The social policy of the state therefore must devote itself to the re-establishment of the industries and professions (vocational group organization)."

But the conflict of which we are speaking and which the Holy Father Pius deplores is not something inseparable from industrial activity. Karl Marx discovered a fact, not a law; and the historical fact of conflict, which arose from exploitation, can be changed for the fact of cooperation if the right means are used.

All the various means to promote peace between classes are important, but none is so important as the will to peace. It is not a question of saying, "The boss is my enemy, but I will love him," or "The boss is a stranger, and I will help him out," or "I must take good care of my inferiors, and therefore I will pick out what is best for my workers"—not "he" and "I," but "we."

"We pull equally well in this harness . . . We have common interest, the same ideas." Only the will for cooperation and agreement can produce the attitude: "We have a good plan

for knocking out absenteeism . . . We understand what is going on in each other's minds, and we agree."

Stuart Chase in his *Men at Work* cites an example of what is not cooperation. "There is one company in the middle west where the president is the whole show. He sees to it that the proper workers are appointed to the committee on labor-management cooperation. He puts on a rally with visiting heroes every few days. He has a company band of fine-looking girls. His suggestion boxes are painted in beautiful colors, and his posters dazzle the eye . . . As labor management the thing is a phoney and about as spontaneous as a Fourth of July parade."

Real agreement means willingness to find out what the other fellow thinks, what he wants, and why. Real agreement means that we share the other fellow's point of view, look at the facts from the same angle. It is much less a matter of kindness of superior to inferior and of inferior's deference to superior, than of our standing beside each other. We are both human beings entitled to respect as such. We have duties in justice toward each other. We have common judgments and ambitions. We at least try to understand each other's ideas and to agree. That is the real way to work toward real unity of mind and will.

The Hawthorne case shows what a spirit of cooperation can achieve. A comparison was to be made between the output of five workers in an experimental room and the output of five workers whose working conditions would remain unchanged. What happened?

Light in the experimental room was increased; output increased. Light was again increased; output was further increased. Light was further increased ten-candle power; output continued to increase. Light was now *decreased* three-candle power; there was still an

increase in output. At first the results seemed to make no sense.

A five-minute rest was introduced in the morning, then in the afternoon, then at different times during the day. A half hour was cut from the working day, then a whole hour. Finally Saturday-morning work was abolished. *With each change* output increased.

One of the most disconcerting results was that whenever output went up in the experimental room, it also went up in the room where there was no change in conditions. Finally came Period XII to baffle the experimenters completely. In Period XII all the innovations were abolished. Rest periods, increased lights, tasty snacks, hours off—all were eliminated, and the old conditions were restored. Output soared to a new level, higher than it had ever been before.

Said one of the experimenters: "We found that the most important factors were attitude and sentiment." From the very first management talked over the project with the workers. Workers heard the explanation, understood the importance of the project and the importance of their own role as partners in the project. They were pleased and flattered that they had been chosen for the job. They understood and approved—and that means they were cooperative.

During the recent World War the Training Within Industry program helped to develop real cooperation. In many cases the employee was not doing the right thing. In many cases it was found out why an employee was drinking too much, or taking days off without giving warning, or ruining material and machines by carelessness. Our conclusion here is, not to commend TWI as a fine way to promote cooperation, but rather to indicate that cooperation can be achieved with determination and intelligence. The irresponsible attitude of many workers

is by no means incurable. But very often it is necessary to get inside a man's mind in order to cure a careless, slipshod, irresponsible attitude toward plant and product.

At the Hawthorne plant 30,000 interviews were held with employees, and 50,000,000 words were used to record all the data accumulated during the experiments. In other words a tremendous effort was made by one group to understand what was going on in the minds of the other group.

The response was immediate. "Gee it's great to get this off my chest."

The interviewer would start to give by rote a statement to the effect that the conversation would be kept strictly confidential with regard to any detail that might identify the speaker. The interviewer's introduction was brushed aside, so eager was the speaker to have his say.

"It's swell to give everyone a chance."

"I wouldn't think of going up to the office with this..."

As they began to feel better disposed toward the employers, they imagined changes that had not actually been made. "My foreman is easier to get on with . . . The menu in the cafeteria is a lot better . . . The boss's friends used to get all the good jobs, but now..." Workers felt that they had been taken in as partners when a real effort was made to hear their opinions on how things should be run. It was not so much, "I work *for* him" as "I work *with* him."

Many factories foster cooperation. Federal Shoe fights the entrance of unions into its shop; None-Better works with them and has devised a model contract. Unions in one industry try to get along with employers; in another industry they practically put the firms out of business. These unions are riddled with factionalism; local leaders sacrifice the good of all for their own election.

The man in the street thinks that the desire to spend more money is the only important villain in the piece or that legislation is the only important remedy for strikes. No; the main thing for us to harp on right now is sincere desire for cooperation. It is needed in the rank and file, among officials, by

personnel men, by managers, by owners, by editors, by all who mold public opinion. Cooperation means agreement, the meeting of minds, unity of ambition — at the very least an attitude that says: "I'm trying to get along with my partner in production."

FARMING: INDEPENDENT vs. COMMERCIAL

What Australia's NCRM Thinks About It

by John H. Millet, S.J.

Saint Mary's College, Saint Marys, Kansas

AUSTRALIAN ECONOMIC EXPERTS have long assumed that the purpose of agriculture is to produce food and fibre as efficiently as possible. Therefore with the great increase in mechanical invention it is possible for one farmer to support seven or eight people. This economic view is based on the fact that one man cultivating a certain area with modern machinery and under a certain degree of specialization can secure a certain output.

This view is backed up historically by the fact that in Australia specialization in one or two branches of farming has become more important than the "way of life." The large areas of unused land with the fertility of centuries behind them and the high prices and low producing costs (at certain intervals) have led to a boom in specialized farming.

However it is now becoming evident in Australia that this type of farming, commercial farming, is really exhaustive farming. There is a great deal of evidence, particularly in areas which have been farmed for more than fifty years, that the bottom of the fertility mine is at hand. Decreased fertility is not immediately evident in decreased yields because of the use of fertilizers, but the appearance and increase of disease are the first clear indications that the soil is losing its vitality.

The principle involved is this: Whenever a farm is given over to the production of one form of primary produce on as large a scale as the area permits, there is always evidence in due course that the balance of nature has been upset. The avoidance of heavy loss through disease is always the dominating aim of farmers on well-established ranches, dairy farms, poultry farms, commercial orchards, and farms producing gains.

Contour farming and irrigation are not in themselves the answer if the story of the Persians and the Babylonians is considered. Nor are the modern mechanical methods that have been adopted in the Kansas Dust Bowl the real answer.

* This is a summary of how the National Catholic Rural Movement is trying to solve the Australian farm problem. The material is taken from the issues of the movement's national monthly paper, *Rural Life*, from May 1946 to March 1947, from their pamphlet "The Fight for the Land," and from an article in the Australian quarterly review, *Twentieth Century*, Vol. I, No. 3, "Independent Farming," by E. Hennessy.

According to the NCRM the opinion of economic experts regarding agriculture is built on two unproved assumptions. One is that the fertility of the soil will be maintained indefinitely under an extensive mechanical system of cultivation. The other is that the nonfarming population will be able to reproduce itself.

An important point in the movement's argumentation against the economist's opinion is that a nation never allows economic considerations to determine properly the ends of its policy. It admits that from a purely economic point of view there should be fewer farmers, but closely bound in with the farm problem are moral and political considerations. When farming is a successful and relatively prosperous way of life, it produces a type of citizen that has been highly valued. The further reason — that Catholic leaders want more and more people on the land—is based on the facts of man's nature and purpose. Therefore though it is possible for one farmer to produce for seven or eight, the question is: Should a nation deliberately make this choice because the science of economics knows nothing of what is ultimately desirable or undesirable?

Thus the case against commercial farming in Australia is one of increasing disease in crops, animals, and humans and in the ruining of the soil, which it has taken centuries to build. By upsetting the balance of nature, commercial farming has brought into being the forces of decay. The only way to defeat these forces is with the forces of life.

The forces of life are to be found in a living, healthy soil. To recover and maintain that living soil is to restore and retain some of the old farming methods employed in certain areas in Europe and Asia which have triumphed over the centuries. Healthy soil necessitates the conception of the farm as a living whole. It means a re-

learning and a development of the art of living on the soil. The NCRM calls the modern interpretation of this creative art of farming independent farming. It is aimed directly at the economic consequences of specialized commercial farming.

The first principle of independent farming is the law of return. Farms remain vital and living when all forms of waste matter are returned to the soil — "That which had life may live again."

A policy of diversification, the second principle, is carried on in conjunction with the law of return. Diversification means a variety of crops and animals both large and small on one farm. It also means a mixture of plant life. All these play an involved part in the maintaining of the teeming life both under the soil and above the soil.

In the United States we are familiar with the term family-sized farm. The Australian NCRM describe their new term, independent farming, by comparing it with commercial farming and subsistence farming.

Commercial farming is described as specialization in one or two products for sale in the market. In this type of farming the practices that will bring in the greatest possible income are the deciding factors. Food and clothing and services are purchased with the money income received. Self-sufficiency practices are only incidental with the commercial farmer.

Subsistence farming is described as the production of what the family uses in food and clothing.

Independent farming however stands in the middle. Here the first objective of the farm family is to produce as much of the family food supply as the physical environment of the farm will permit. Since the farm family cannot produce everything needed for com-

fortable civilized living, the second objective is to produce surpluses in each of the lines produced for family use. These surpluses will be marketed to buy the secondary and tertiary services which the farm cannot produce.

The description of the advantages of independent farming over the other two types will do much to revive the attitude that regards the land as sacred. The farm is a granary from which the family food comes. By aiming at a regular income through diversification, the farm family is able to better its position economically and make the home more attractive to the children because it promises tangible economic returns which allow it to compete with the financial allurements of the city.

Pursuing this policy, the independent farmer would be free from the changing policies of governments and markets. Never would he be in the lowest financial bracket. Though one crop may fail, the others seldom do. Then too this plan would provide a better education for both parents and children. It would restore art and science to their complimentary relative positions in the family.

The NCRM holds that independent farming does not necessarily mean any reduction in the output of agricultural goods. It means that because independent farming works best on small units, a greater number of farmers would be absorbed in producing the surpluses which now normally find their way into market.

On the independent farm balanced judgment and good management are musts. Modern machines should always be used when their purchase is justified or when a particular job can be done by contract machinery or by cooperative machine pools. The purchase of modern equipment for the home is as much an investment as the purchase of a milking machine.

The art of living on one's own acres

also demands a good deal of business acumen and organization, and the problem of the work involved is not the least. The movement argues that there is hard work on any farm. However the somewhat rural reference in Genesis has some application here: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou return to the earth, out of which thou wast taken."

The NCRM argues thus from the economic aspect. Since the moral and social ends come first, economic considerations should be reduced to their proper perspective as a *means* rather than as the *end*. What is socially true must also be economically true. There is no contradiction between the argument for economic efficiency and that for independent farming. A farm is more than a business. The farm is the home of the family. Agriculture is a way of life. But if the farm in particular and agriculture in general are to fulfill their highest possibilities, they must also fulfill their lowest.

A farm that is a home and a way of life must also be a sound business. As a business it must have an excess of income over expenditure. Whereas income can rarely be controlled and seldom properly estimated, it is far more possible to control expenditure. Every dollar a farmer can cut off his expenditure on food for his family is a dollar of certain profit. On the other hand by sacrificing an economy of this nature in the interest of specialized crops, he has to face the vicissitudes of the markets, and he is by no means certain that he will make as much or more in actual profit once he is dependent on the market.

Though farms vary, the movement quotes the opinion of the USDA that the average farm can produce 80 per cent of the family food supply. The question with the independent farmer is: "How much can I produce for home use?"

The postulate in the argument for independent farming is that the movement wants more and more people to earn their living on the land, to be farmers, to be inhabitants of rural communities. In those parts of Australia where rainfall is adequate to a policy of independent farming, millions of people over and above the number that these parts already contain could be housed—and many areas could be transformed by irrigation.

For a complete picture of what the NCRM is trying to accomplish, all five points in their program should be cited. Closely tied in with independent farming is the spread of cooperation in every possible field. The third point is to reform rural education to agree with the policy of independent farming. The fourth objective is to spread the best technical methods in agriculture. The fifth is to revive the rural home.

The NCRM admits there are difficulties of a temporal nature requir-

ing tremendous effort if they are to be solved. The principal difficulty is the problem of existing debts; another is the problem of water. But these factors have become the material determinants of the NCRM's policy, because any program that does not take them into account is doomed to failure. However mental and spiritual transformation is the great objective of the NCRM; the other objectives fall in behind it.

In conclusion the NCRM says that every objective of the movement must be seen against the great doctrine of independent farming. Furthermore whether the work is begun today or in fifty years, the solution must still be measured in decades and centuries. Should the movement delay for even ten years, the Christian solution may have become completely impossible. For there are already some who are urging the adoption of the Russian system of state farms as the logical end of commercial farming.

CIGARETTES

One of the unusual features of life in postwar Germany appears to be the economic role played by the cigarette. Before I arrived here I thought that cigarettes were sought after because of the craving for nicotine as a stimulant or as a way of alleviating the gnawings of an empty stomach.

I am told, however, that the cigarette is actually a medium of exchange and that it is not sought after for the purpose of smoking but in order to purchase other things, such as food. Who eventually smokes the cigarettes no one seems to know.

The basic economic fact about the cigarette is that right now it enjoys a relatively stable exchange value, arising from its relative scarcity. Formerly chocolate bars enjoyed the same status, but since candy has become more available through the Army these bars have apparently dropped from the status of exchange medium.

In Italy today the cigarette no longer has the value it formerly had as a medium of exchange.

—Fr. Robert Graham

SOCIAL WORK IN BRAZIL

The Christian Formula Approach

by Luis Garcia de Sousa, S.J.

Nova Friburgo, R. J., Brazil

SOCIAL PROBLEMS are arousing ever greater interest all over the world, particularly since the end of World War II. Brazil, although not suffering materially as a consequence of the war, is by no means apart from this general trend towards interest in social matters. Brazil is a comparatively new country, of almost unlimited natural resources, and with great hope for a prosperous future. She wants to face her multiple and complex social problems and solve them according to the Christian formula that has guided her life since the days of the first Portuguese settlements in the sixteenth century.

Brazil offers a vast field for social work. The country is no longer living the quasi-colonial life of three or four decades ago. A wave of progress is sweeping all over the country from the Amazon to the Chui. Brazilian cities are rapidly growing. Housing problems are becoming a reality. The increasing industrialization of the great centers is steadily depopulating the extensive rural areas of the inland. All this involves, of course, very serious problems that deserve close consideration from those responsible for the social welfare of the country.

Brazilian labor legislation doubtlessly constitutes a solid basis for all kinds of social enterprises and activities. Inspired mainly in the principles exposed in the social encyclicals "*Rerum Novarum*" and "*Quadragesimo Anno*," Brazilian labor laws may be considered among the most advanced in the world. This is due in great part to the efforts of the late Minister of

Labor, Dr. Waldemar Falcão, a very well formed Catholic and able jurist. Trade-unionism, family allowances and minimum wage are important features of Brazilian social laws. Profit-sharing was officially introduced in the new Federal Constitution promulgated last year.

The Government has founded several Pension Institutes with large budgets to guarantee social security to the workers of the various classes. More recently other governmental agencies have been opened to care in a special way for the social welfare of laborers. The most important of these institutions are the Social Service of Industry and the Social Service of Commerce. Special attention has also been given to the professional training of industrial workers. The organization known as SENAI, National Service of Industrial Apprenticeship, has well equipped professional schools scattered all over the country. These schools are really doing a fine work, giving professional training to thousands of young men.

Besides favoring all these governmental and public social activities the Church in Brazil has concerned itself with promoting all sorts of social enterprises. Today, as a practical result of the directions given by the Brazilian Bishops in their last Instruction, nearly all dioceses are busy organizing Departments of Social Action.

The Church is working as never before for the social welfare of the people. Recent statistics revealed that in Rio de Janeiro alone eighty per cent of all social welfare and relief work

was entrusted to Catholics. In the nation's capitol Cardinal Barros Camara, "the Archbishop of the poor and the hills," has organized social work on a large scale. The ASA (Archdiocesan Social Action) is doing a great job, providing social assistance to the poor classes of Rio and suburbs.

In all the other great centers of population such as São Paulo, Recife, Baía and Pôrto Alegre similar work is being vigorously undertaken by the clergy and laymen with encouraging results. Several Schools of Social Service have been founded and fostered by the hierarchy in important cities. The two Catholic Universities of Rio (under Jesuit direction) and São Paulo (founded last year by Cardinal Vasconcelos Mota) are particularly active centers of social studies where an enthusiastic young people are being prepared for work in the field.

The Society of Jesus has been called upon to play an important role in the social apostolate of the Church in Brazil. The Bishops have given to Jesuits the direction and care of important departments such as the National Secretariate of Social Action of the Brazilian Catholic Action. The Society on its part has strived to respond to the desires and confidence of the hierarchy. That it has not done more is due to the fact that its few members are overwhelmed by many other ministries and teaching in the colleges.

The Worker's Circles, founded and organized by Father Leopoldo Brentano, S.J., in the State of Rio Grande de Sul have spread successfully all over the country. Father Brentano has the direction of the National Confederation of Catholic Workers in Rio de Janeiro and is continuously traveling in Brazil and other Latin-American republics, giving directions on the movement. The Circles in Pôrto Alegre, Rio Grande de Sul, under direct Jesuit supervision, are most flourishing and

have undertaken many splendid activities in the field of social welfare.

In São Paulo, Father Roberto Sa-
boia de Medeiros, S.J., is the founder and active promoter of an organization of the greatest importance. It embraces many and varied aspects of social work. "Ação Social" is divided into various departments. Each has been assigned a special task. It publishes a valuable review of social studies. It also maintains a School of Industrial Engineering, besides popular schools for workers. All this fine work will be studied in a future article.

Other Brazilian Jesuits are engaged in social work and are cooperating with the clergy to forward the vast social program of the Church in this country.

Perhaps the first and major obstacle to the Church's social work in Brazil is the reduced number of priests. According to the last census of 1940 Brazil's population was 41,236,315. Of these, 39,177,880 professed Catholicism. For the spiritual care of these numerous Catholics there are only 6,100 priests, including both the secular and regular clergy. The Jesuits number around a thousand, divided in three provinces, North, Center and South. Of this number little more than 300 are priests. It is easy to understand what this means in a country like Brazil, where there are so many opportunities for social work.

Another obstacle is the poverty and lack of instruction of a great part of the population.

Despite all these difficulties and hindrances, Brazilians are awakening to social realities and a social mind is being formed in them. The Church is doing a splendid work to promote the welfare of the poverty stricken population.

Brazil is definitely heading towards the solution of its religious, social and economic problems. Convinced that a

new era of social justice is dawning
Brazilians are marching to the future
confident in the final victory of Chris-
tian principles and ideals in their
country.

ISO Decree Explained

(concluded from page 100)

Thus it neither forbade nor did it
command that such a novel form of
the apostolate be undertaken in any
particular country or region.

The third paragraph concerns what
we in the ISO call the channels. These
are our spiritual ministries and our
colleges and schools. In all of these
the social apostolate must be pro-
moted. Three specific aspects of this
apostolate are singled out: the teach-
ing of the social doctrine of the
Church; the formation of the social
virtues of justice and charity in the
souls of the faithful; concrete social
works carried on by various associa-
tions which should be created where
they are needed.

On this point Father General has
some sharp words to say in his letter
of April 22. For instance on our
schools: "Those who know what they
are talking about complain that the
young men and women who come out
of our schools come out too often lack-
ing a true sense of the charity of
Christ." He also tells us that we should
go after the rich particularly, to give
them a genuine social conscience, and
"we by no means approve of that way
of 'fighting communism,' which these
rich promote, but which consists rather
in a scramble to increase their own
riches and privileges than in defending
a right social order."

The whole letter makes it clear that
our way of "fighting communism" is
not only negative (exposing the party
line) but overwhelmingly positive: a

supreme effort to take the play away
from the communists by proposing and
working for a better social order than
the one they are promoting. It will
obviously be not at all the one we are
living under now.

In order to do all this, we must
start right in to prepare social apostles,
and we must begin with the scholastics,
even though the time is running out.
Hence the fourth paragraph of the
decree recalls the injunction of the
previous congregation (n.10), which
said that *all* our scholastics must have
some training in social science. Spe-
cial scholastics moreover who show a
bent for this sort of thing must be
chosen early for it. And when they
have laid a solid foundation of our
regular studies, they must be given
special studies both in the theory and
the practice of social action.

The final paragraph is short, but it
is significant. It means that we are not
going to get anywhere in this kind of
apostolate if our way of living is re-
mote from the way of living of those
among whom we are working. Auster-
ity of life, self-abnegation, and gen-
erosity in giving ourselves are the only
ways to success in this apostolate.

In conclusion it may be said that
any resemblance between the plan out-
line in the decree and that of the ISO
is purely intentional. We in this
country may well feel encouraged that
we already have in our hands an in-
strument which, rightly functioning,
will meet the demands of the General
Congregation on the social apostolate.

NOTICE

All those who in future wish to receive
copies of *Ecom News* will please send names
and addresses to:

Rev. G. G. Ryan, S.J.
Holy Cross College,
Worcester 3, Massachusetts

LETTERS

ST. IGNATIUS AND THE CREDIT UNION MOVEMENT

Historians of the Credit Union movement go back to the *Montes Pietatis* of the fifteenth century. Frank O'Hara, in his pamphlet *Credit Unions*, No. 7 of the N. C. W. C. Social Action Series, says: "Back of the credit unions is a long history of cooperative efforts to combat usury. Only the briefest reference to that history can be given here. An account of the *montes pietatis* which from the fifteenth century onward loaned money to the poor without interest or at very low rates of interest can be found under that title in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*." (p. 7).

Jesuits will be interested to recall that St. Ignatius recommended the *montes pietatis*. Writing to Fathers Broet and Salmeron, from Rome, at the beginning of September, 1541, he has this to say in his Memorandum on the Affairs of Ireland:

"It would be well to procure the establishment, or re-establishment if they previously existed, of *Monti della pietà* for the assistance of the poor, as also hospitals and other pious institutions, such as are common in these parts and would find acceptance in those." Letters and Instructions of St. Ignatius Loyola. Vol. I, 1524-1547. Translated by D. F. O'Leary, selected and edited with notes by The Rev. A. Goodier, S.J., London: Manresa Press, 1914, page 62.

WILLIAM J. MOORE, S.J.

LABOR MONOPOLY FORUM

Your Forum on Union-Labor Monopoly was so timely that I could not have wished for anything better. For months we have been struggling to arrive at a good objective definition of the term which is currently used in such a haphazard manner. Your Forum was read by hundreds in Kansas City who might not otherwise have had a chance to see how many facets of opinion there are in approaching a calm, clear concept of the implications behind the term. I hope your next Forum, in which you invite me to participate, will be equally as valuable to others as your last was to many of us here.

JOHN C. FRIEDL, S.J.

SISTERS AND THE SOCIAL APOSTOLATE

Last Sunday, July 20, I went up to Toledo to talk to the Sisters of Notre Dame at their motherhouse. They wanted a lecture on this new wrinkle in the Church's work that might be called the "social apostolate." In my lecture I included a description of the ISO, SOCIAL ORDER and SPEARHEAD. I also read to them parts of that letter (in SOCIAL ORDER) from the nun who stressed the importance of educating teaching sisters in this new development of the old Church's work. Told them that this lecture was an attempt on my part to carry out her suggestion. I suspect that many orders of nuns have such general lectures during the summer for their members. Perhaps the ISO could do something to line up such groups, and appropriate lecturers, for future summers. It is a fertile field. The Mother Provincial at this place has written to me to say that as a result of the lecture the prefect of studies (summer) and her helpers have turned much of the rest of the summer's work to studying the relationships of their next year's teaching to this "social apostolate."

JOSEPH M. BECKER, S.J.

"COMMUNISM IN ACTION"

Free copies of "Communism in Action" can be obtained by anybody who writes to his congressman. Each one of them has a supply of at least five hundred. I have asked the faculty here at Fordham to write for a supply of them for the students next year.

The Committee on Un-American Activities is anxious to reprint a smaller, and more useful pamphlet, called "The Communist Party as an Agent of a Foreign Power" for bulk distribution to schools, etc. Fordham is ordering several thousand. I think they would be useful in all our colleges, and they are *free*. Delivery would not be until late summer or early fall.

WILLIAM NOLAN, S.J.

BOOKS

THE CHALLENGE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.—By Sumner H. Slichter. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N. Y., 1947. vii+196 pp. \$2.50.

This book contains the six lectures which Professor Slichter delivered at Cornell University in 1946. In it the distinguished Harvard professor presents in summary fashion his critique of the American labor-union movement. He traces the changes which have occurred in the movement as a consequence of historical development and points out the significance of these changes. He shows how the character of the labor union has changed, just as the character of the business enterprise has changed. The author demonstrates how the management of a business enterprise is altered when collective bargaining is established.

In his third chapter Professor Slichter examines the consequences of union wage policies, especially in relation to employment. From that topic he passes on to a consideration of the everyday problems of union government, including the much debated question of democracy in labor unions. In the fifth chapter the author outlines the process of collective bargaining, describes the various attitudes which negotiators can take and the consequences of those attitudes, and lays down certain principles which he believes will facilitate the process of bargaining.

He concludes his book with a chapter on the impact of unions upon the public welfare, with especial emphasis on the peculiar status of employees in public utilities. The book is supplemented by five appendices, which outline in convenient form the major provisions of union constitutions.

The Challenge of Industrial Relations is not a particularly profound book. But in it Professor Slichter does raise a host of interesting questions, many of which he leaves unanswered perhaps for pedagogic reasons. He approaches the problem of trade-union reform in a common-sense manner. Where he thinks legislation is necessary, he honestly says so. Unbiased readers will have no difficulty in accepting

the trade union reforms which Professor Slichter recommends. Although he clearly sees many abuses in labor unions, he optimistically forecasts steady improvement in the technique of collective bargaining.

We recommend this book to those who are interested in the contemporary American social scene.

CORNELIUS A. ELLER, S.J.

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CONSTRUCTIVE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING.—By Edward T. Cheyfitz. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York and London, 1947. ix+161 pp.

The author of this little volume, who was formerly with the CIO's Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, offers what he considers the key to harmonious labor-management relations. Although he admits that the Government has a legitimate role to play in collective bargaining, he does not think that legislation is the solution. He is opposed to anything resembling compulsion, since he is convinced that free collective bargaining can work if the negotiators adopt the right attitude of mind. The objective of the book is to make a contribution to the development of collective bargaining.

The author's solution can be reduced to the slogan "Production With Freedom." Industrial peace rests therefore upon two principles: 1. Recognition by the union of management's right to administer the business enterprise in the interest of efficiency and increasing productivity; 2. Recognition by management of the union's right to participate in all decisions that directly affect the employees. This means that unions must refrain from obstructing the progress of industrial efficiency; in fact they ought to help management to promote it. It means that management must realize that the workers will no longer stand for industrial dictatorship. There will not be peace in industry until management acknowledges that the laws of the factory must rest upon the consent of the governed.

A large part of the book is devoted to an analysis and justification of time and motion study, of job evaluation and incentive systems. This part is aimed at labor unions.

Mr. Cheyfitz is very enthusiastic about the possibilities of the Toledo Plan, of which he had personal experience. He describes its origin and operation and includes a copy of its charter in an appendix.

The book is not very well written. But it is vigorous and understandable even though the terminology is often loose and inexact. The author's approach to the problem of industrial relations is interesting and worthy of further exploration.

CORNELIUS A. ELLER, S.J.

RADIO THE FIFTH ESTATE. — By Judith C. Waller. Houghton Mifflin Company, Chicago, 1946. xiv+483 pp. \$4.00. Student edition: \$3.40.

Do you want a good over-all picture of radio? What makes it tick or squawk? Even a gentleman's knowledge of radio? Then read Miss Waller's book, which is the third in the publisher's "Radio Broadcasting Series."

NBC's Judith Waller is radio's First Woman, for she was associated with station WMAQ in Chicago before it became NBC's Chicago outlet in 1926. At present Miss Waller is director of public service, central division, The National Broadcasting Company, and is responsible for all the cultural, educational, and religious programs which originate in the Chicago area of NBC. She is also one of the founders of Northwestern's Summer Radio Institute. Incidentally most of her book is based on lectures given by NBC's department heads at the Summer Radio Institute in a course called "Introduction to Radio."

Such phases of radio as the structure of broadcasting, programing, the public-service program, sales organization, engineering, and educational broadcasting are well and adequately treated in Miss Waller's book and are within the easy range of the tyro in radio. Some sixty-five colleges and universities use this book as a text for radio courses. The book is well illustrated and

graphed, contains an excellent bibliography on all phases of radio, and makes interesting as well as good reading.

Anyone who wants a "quickie" on radio, a general survey of the field, and a fine insight into the educational aspects of radio should read this book and keep it within arm's reach for reference and re-reading.

JOHN H. WILLIAMS, S.J.

STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM. — By Sterling E. Edmunds, LL.D. The Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee, 1946. xi+309 pp. \$4.50.

Students of American constitutional history will find the late Doctor Edmunds's opus vastly interesting even though they may not always agree with his conclusions. The underlying theme seems to be: The United States began as a Federal Republic; but with the close of the last century it lost its golden-age character and disintegrated into its present deplorable state of "democracy." The new movement took shape with Wilson and reached its high point during the tenure of the second Roosevelt—in fact it can safely be said that the book was occasioned by the events of 1933-1945.

Doctor Edmunds traces the rise of liberty in the Anglo-Saxon tradition beginning with Magna Charta and on through the foundation of the United States. Though not in accord with the average history-book evaluation, his estimate of Jefferson agrees with the estimate of those who aver that the Sage of Monticello was an egalitarian rather than a genuine democrat in the classical sense. There appears to be a certain amount of untoward haste in getting to the age of FDR; this haste made it necessary for the author to pass over certain events which could have been developed more sharply. He says for example: "Never before 1937 had such a general purpose been manifest to make the Supreme Court a mere adjunct of the president and the party in power." Meantime his discussion of the shabby Legal Tender Cases is adroitly jejune.

Misleading is his observation that "Aristotle could not conceive of a limited government." In this he agrees with the stock

writers in political theory who imagine that constitutionalism emerged for the first time with the Roman Stoics. If he had examined the *Politics* more diligently, he would have discovered that all of Aristotle's "good forms" were very definitely limited, though not in the sense of a written constitution.

Doctor Edmunds's has a lawyer's contempt for the administrative tribunals, likening them to "the king's Privy Council, the Star Chamber, and Elizabeth's High Commission." In this he is not consistent. "An administrative tribunal," he writes, "freed from judicial control, will always revert to type—to the Star Chamber—because of the ineradicable tendency in all power, if not controlled, to push on to finality. A case in illustration reached the Supreme Court in March, 1936. . . ." The very fact that there was redress to a Supreme Court describes an essential difference between these tribunals and the Tudor Star Chamber.

Despite Doctor Edmunds's unquestioned erudition, much of his discussion loses its weight through lack of a clear-cut notion of the nature of our American institution of Government. The result is that his criticism is negative: His only solution is a return to an imagined halcyon age that has never existed. His lengthy remarks on the late President Roosevelt's administration are frequently colored by the curious conviction that the United States is unalterably pledged to political fixations. He does not distinguish between new methods and new principles. If he could point out an instance where the late President did not abide by decisions of the court, his brief of censure would be vastly more compelling.

Indirectly *Struggle For Freedom* raises an issue that is extremely important: What are the limits of the amending power granted in the Constitution? Unless this question is clarified, Doctor Edmunds's fears may prove to be well founded, though not entirely for the reasons which he alleges.

PATRICK DONOHOE, S.J.

OUT OF YOUR POCKET.—By Darel McConkey. The Pamphlet Press of Reynall and Hitchcock, 1947. 120 pp. \$1.00.

The subtitle of this book, *The Story of the Cartels*, is a good indication of its contents. The author, a member of the Senator Kilgore Committee for the investigation of cartels, uses reports of this and other committees and of the Department of Justice to show how cartels are organized and how they work on the national and international level. He quotes figures and names names. One chapter is devoted to the extent and ramifications of I. G. Farbenindustrie and its member companies. Other chapters show how cartels affect the supply and the price of such everyday articles as dyes, matches, paint, spectacles, teeth, light bulbs, rubber, vitamins, medicine, etc.

In spite of so many statistics the story is dramatically told. An appendix gives sources for all figures, and a good index makes the book easy for reference.

The chief merit of the book for ISO members is the amount of information on cartels and the few suggestions made in the last chapter as to what we the people should do about cartels. They cannot be abolished, the author says, so we must see that they are controlled. Discussion clubs will find the book invaluable.

THOMAS FINUCANE, S.J.

CHRIST STOPPED AT EBOLI.—By Carlo Levi. Farrar, Strass, New York, 1947. 268 pp. \$3.00.

This story of a political prisoner in Italy, exiled from Florence to remote peasant villages in Lucania, gives a picture of the indignities suffered under the fascists and of the pitiful conditions among the simple, half-Christian peasants of Italy's southern provinces.

"Christ," these people sigh, "stopped at Eboli. He never came to the hard, barren land of Lucania." In them religion is mixed with superstition, poverty, and a dull despair. Fascism had little impression on the poor province either for good or evil. If Carlo Levi's story is a true account of the land, then that land is sorely in need of both moral and social reform.

FRANCIS J. CORLEY, S.J.

THE FAMILY ALLOWANCE PROCEDURE.—By Hubert Curtis Callaghan, S.J., Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D. C., 1947. xiii+262 pp.

Father Callaghan's doctoral thesis in sociology is an important recent contribution to the growing American library of literature on family allowances.

The bulk of the thesis is devoted to an analysis of family-allowances systems in force in France, Belgium, Germany, and Italy, the systems introduced into Great Britain and Canada during the war, and the advance toward family allowances in Sweden. One chapter examines some similar provisions in the United States, notably the systems employed in some schools and the dependency benefits provided the wives and children of servicemen during the war. In this chapter Father Callaghan also includes the proposals of Professor Paul A. Douglas and Mr. T. J. Woofter, Jr.

The final chapter considers the prospects for family allowances in the United States. Father Callaghan concludes that prospects for an early introduction of this important social measure are not bright. His seven conclusions are worth summarizing: 1. The family wage is a more important social goal than family allowances. 2. Voluntary development of allowances in the United States is not practicable. 3. Either a completely Federal system or a system of state or private funds is possible. 4. Early introduction of allowances is unlikely because there is no social movement advocating family allowances. 5. Either a system modeled on the Federal Reserve structure or an adjunct to the Social Security Act would be constitutional. 6. The political possibility of adopting the measure will depend on national and local conditions. 7. The measure has many and important socio-economic implications.

Father Callaghan's continued emphasis upon the difference between family allowances and a family living wage may in time be revised by the recommendations of the Australian hierarchy, who seem to equate family allowances with what they call a graduated family wage. Apparently they take the term family wage to apply, not to some absolute amount of money capable of satisfying the needs of all or

of an 'average' family, but rather a relative term to cover the sum needed for each specific family size.

The discussion as to whether family allowances are a gift or a complementary salary (*sursalaire*) is ably handled. Father Callaghan seems to favor the latter theory.

This thesis is a valuable source book for those interested in family allowances.

FRANCIS J. CORLEY, S.J.

SOIL AND STEEL.—By P. Alston Waring and Clinton S. Golden. Harper & Bros., New York and London, 1947. x+240 pp. \$3.00.

For a long time Mr. Golden has been a familiar figure in the American labor movement. Mr. Waring is a successful Pennsylvania farmer who finds time to write for farm journals. These two men of very different background have jointly written this book in an effort to break down antagonisms between farmers and organized industrial workers.

The authors attempt to achieve their purpose by interpreting the farmer to the worker and the worker to the farmer. They show the farmer rather vividly what a union means to a worker and indirectly what labor unions mean to the rural population. They explain why the farmer is usually antiunion, why he is individualistic. In this connection they expose the nature of the Farm Bureau Federation and the antiunion propaganda that is spread throughout rural America by country newspapers.

The authors are preoccupied with examining the interests which farmers and organized workers have in common; their purpose is to close the gap which divides these two groups. They are very optimistic about the future. They point to various signs, such as the growth of agricultural cooperatives, which indicate that the farmers' individualism is on the wane. They point to the TVA as an example of cooperation between farmers and workers and a bond between city and country. For the authors these are straws in the wind which foretell the approach of better understanding between our farmers and our industrial workers.

Soil and Steel is not a great book, but it is a thoughtful one, and the thoughtful will be interested in it.

CORNELIUS A. ELLER, S.J.

INTO THE MAIN STREAM. — By Charles S. Johnson and Associates. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1947. xiv+355 pp. \$3.50.

Interracialists will find this book something different in the line of works on the race problem in the south. Whereas almost all others treat the seamy side of race relations, Dr. Johnson's newest volume surveys the positive achievements and constructive measures actually being furthered by interracialists below the Mason-Dixon line.

The book's impressive parade of factual data is a refreshing refutation of the complaint that nothing is being done about the betterment of race relations. Starting with the work of the twenty-five-year-old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which was recently renamed the Southern Regional Council, the survey proceeds with a series of interesting accounts of what has actually been done in the fields of citizenship, employment, education, housing, health, and religion. State by state each of these topics is reviewed by concrete case histories.

Some of the individual instances have been reported already in the *Monthly Summary of Trends in Race Relations*, but much of the material is compiled from hitherto unpublished field reports. The enheartening experience of reading these is a needed antidote for that pessimism caused by sensationalistic journalists' overplaying recent lynchings and anti-Negro aberrations of the Bilbo type.

I can wholeheartedly recommend to those who decry the south's apathy about interracial progress that they sit down with this book and let Dr. Johnson tell in his quiet, simple, forthright style the dramatic story of the interracial commonplaces that total up to an optimistic survey of the present trend of race relations in the south.

ALBERT S. FOLEY, S.J.

APPROACHES TO GROUP UNDERSTANDING. — A Symposium. Edited by Lyman Bryson, Louis Finkelstein, and R. M. MacIver. Harper & Bros., New York, 1947. xxv+858 pp. \$5.00.

This symposium consists of papers read in the Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life, held at Columbia University in the Summer of 1945. Seventy scholars in all the disciplines of modern thought have expressed their personal approaches toward intellectual unity. The Catholic case is well presented by Rudolf Allers and Walter Farrell, O.P.

The symposium seems to this reader an exercise in futility. The futility appears most clearly in the writings of a scholar like Dr. Harry Overstreet, who states in one place: "In a period in which there is maximum agreement upon fundamentals the philosopher has very little to do . . . Philosophies are bound to have the same uniqueness and variations as individuals . . . We shall begin to get somewhere when the theologian can believe that his theology is a grand working hypothesis about the major orientation of our life rather than an absolute take-it-or-leave-it sacred truth."

The fundamental difficulty at such a conference is that the pragmatist, the follower of Dewey, does not believe in the existence of any absolute truth, even though his fellow scholars contradict him. The pragmatist in his own persistent dogmatism refuses to set a foundation upon which the scholar, the scientist, the philosopher, or the theologian can agree.

The book has little value except to confirm one's pessimism about the disunity and chaos of modern thought.

JOSEPH F. CANTILLON, S.J.

NOTICE

The next issue of *SOCIAL ORDER* will appear November 15, 1947. Copies will continue to be sent to each American Jesuit community in sufficient number to provide all those interested. Copies will not be sent by mail to individuals except for some special reason which they should state in writing to the Managing Editor. Those who now receive such copies will continue to do so.

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